

**‘Hans Nielsen Hauge
and
The Prophetic Imagination’**

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by
Alison Heather Stibbe, MA

Department of Scandinavian Studies
University College London
Gower Street
London
WC1E 6BT

Declaration

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Abstract:

Hans Nielsen Hauge and the Prophetic Imagination

The Norwegian lay preacher Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771-1824) has been described as a prophet who brought religious, social, economic and political change to nineteenth-century Norway. This thesis examines Hauge's first four texts as prophecy using the paradigm 'prophetic imagination' as an analytical model to provide a comprehensive explanation as to how his speech acted to *'evoke consciousness and perception alternative to the consciousness and perception of the dominant culture'* by means of the cooperative action of 'prophetic criticism' and 'prophetic energising' (Brueggemann 2001:13). A formal analysis of Hauge's texts identified idiosyncratic 'framing devices' which act to indicate the presence of prophetic speech at both the general and the specific level. These devices, particularly the prophetic call narratives, were also found to act to legitimate Hauge's prophetic speech. Formal elements of prophetic speech were identified in Hauge's specific prophetic utterances, enabling these to be classified as forms of two major prophetic genres: announcements of judgement (criticising) or announcements of salvation (energising). Apocalyptic, the third major prophetic genre, was identified as playing a greater role in Hauge's early texts than has been previously acknowledged. An analysis of Hauge's apocalyptic thought indicated that his prophetic task was motivated by basic beliefs rooted in this idiosyncratic worldview. The supplementation of Brueggemann's paradigm with Wright's worldview schema permitted the scrutiny of Hauge's use of prophetic narrative against this apocalyptic backdrop (Wright 2001). This subsequently permitted the identification of the symbols which were dismantled by Hauge's prophetic criticism - the personnel, practice and place of institutional religion, and the symbols which were transformed or generated by his prophetic energising - 'true shepherds', 'priests and kings', and membership of 'a prophethood of all believers'. The adoption of these symbols explains the self-confidence expressed by Hauge's followers and their subsequent involvement in all areas of public life.

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Abbreviations used in the Text

<i>BVD</i>	Hauge, Hans Nielsen, <i>Betragtning over Verdens Daarlighed</i> (Christiania: Jens Ørbek Berg, 1796) in <i>Skr.</i> I, 75-134.
<i>Chr. VII</i>	<i>Biblia: det er den gandske Hellige Skriftes Bøger, ved Hs. Kongelige Majestæts vor allernaadigste Arve-Herres Kong Christian den Syvendes Omsorg, med Fliid og efter Grundtexten efterseete og rettede, saa og med mange Paralleler og udførlige Summarier forsynede, Det femtende Oplag</i> (København: Det Kongelige Vaisenhusets Bogtrykkerie og dets Forlag, 1806)
<i>EL</i>	Hauge, Hans Nielsen, <i>De Eenfoldiges Lære og de Afmægtiges Styrke</i> (Bergen: R. Dahls Efterleverske, 1798) in <i>Skr.</i> II, 55-83.
<i>Forklaring</i>	Pontoppidan, Erik, <i>Sandhed til Gudfrytighed: udi en eenfoldig og efter Muelighed kort, dog tilstrekkelig Forklaring over Sal. Dr. Morten Luthers liden Catechismo, inholdende alt det, som den, der vil blive salig, har behov at vide og gjøre, Gjennemseet og rettet Ud gave</i> (Bergen: Fr. D. Beyer, 1854)
<i>GV</i>	Hauge, Hans Nielsen, <i>Et Forsøk om en Afhandling om Guds Viisdom</i> (Christiania: Jens Ørbek Berg, 1796), in <i>Skr.</i> I, 135-249.
<i>LW</i>	<i>Luther's Works</i> (American edition), edited by Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut Lehman, 55 volumes (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1958-1986)
<i>NBS</i>	<i>Bibelen eller Den hellige Skrift inholdende det Gamle og det Nye Testamentes kanoniske Bøger</i> (Kristiania: Det Norske Bibelselskabs forlag, 1920)
<i>NIV</i>	<i>The Bible, New International Version</i> (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986)
<i>NT</i>	New Testament
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , second edition, volume XII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989)
<i>OT</i>	Old Testament
<i>SB</i>	Hauge, Hans Nielsen, <i>En Sandheds Bekiendelse over en Saligheds Sag</i> (Christiania: Jens Ørbek Berg, 1798), <i>Skr.</i> II, 31-53.
<i>Skr.</i>	Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauge (editor), <i>Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter, Bind I-VIII</i> (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1947-1954)

The Referencing of Quotations

from *Hans Nielsen Huges Skrifter*

This thesis has used Prof. H. N. H. Ording's transcripts of Hauge's writings as a basis for study and as the source of any quotations. These eight volumes are considered to be primary sources in the field of Hauge research. The transcript of each of Hauge's publications contained in these volumes follows the first edition in all cases, note being made in the appendices to any alterations or variations in readings that occur in subsequent published editions. The only alterations the editor has made to the text of the original manuscripts are '*vitterlige feil i bokstaving og tegnsetting*' (Ording 1947:6).

In Ording's transcripts words occasionally appear in brackets. This is either because the word should be ignored as it is considered to '*ødelegge meningen*' or the word has been added '*å gjøre en vanskelig sammenheng mer forståelig*' (Mannsaker 1947:74). In this thesis, these exclusions and additions are indicated by round brackets and square brackets respectively in accordance with British use of parentheses. Readers referring to Ording's transcripts should note that this use of brackets differs from his (Mannsaker 1947:74).

Despite Ording's slight alterations to Hauge's spelling and punctuation, each transcript still contains many odd spellings, innovative words, grammatical mistakes, and strange sentence constructions – these are all Hauge's (Mannsaker 1947:73). Due to the numerous 'errors' in the quotations reproduced in this thesis I have resisted resorting to the constant insertion of (*sic*). The reader may be assured that great care has been taken to ensure that all instances of confused tense or gender endings and bad spelling have been double, if not triple checked, with the transcripts and remain Hauge's own.

The referencing quotations from Ording's transcripts in this thesis are given in the form commonly used by academics in the field (e.g. Aarflot 1969, Gundersen 2001). This involves use of the abbreviation *Skr.* for Ording's

transcripts and Roman numerals to indicate the volume concerned. Arabic numerals indicate the page number. These are followed by a comma and the line number at which the quotation starts, e.g. *Skr. I 186, 25* indicates *Hans Nielsen Hauges Samlede Skrifter*, volume I, page 186, line 25.

Where it is necessary to delimit the exact extent of the quotation, the line numbers at which the quotation begins and ends are joined by a hyphen, e.g. *Skr. I 186, 25-31* indicates *Hans Nielsen Hauges Samlede Skrifter*, volume I, page 186, lines 25-31.

When it has been necessary to point out to which of Hauge's texts the reader is specifically being referred, the abbreviations *BVD*, *GV*, *EL* and *SB* have been used (see the abbreviation list above). In order to indicate which chapter of a particular text is being referred to, the chapter number has been given as a hyphenated suffix to the abbreviated title of the text, e.g. *GV-2* indicates *Guds Viisdom*, chapter 2. Where there is no chapter number, the section of text has been indicated by an abbreviation of the chapter title, e.g. *SB-Lexcien* indicates 'Forklaring over Lexcien' in *En Sandheds Bekiendelse*, and *BVD-Formaning* indicates 'Formaning' in *Betragtning over Verdens Daarlighed*.

Introduction: ‘Hans Nielsen Hauge’

Occasionally a figure appears on the stage of history whose impact is so great that scholars are still trying to explain it centuries later. One such person was Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771-1824), a farmer’s son who spent the years 1796-1804 spreading a ‘message from God’ to the people of Norway before he was finally imprisoned by the Danish authorities. Hauge’s activity initiated a religious revival that swept across Norway, particularly among the peasant class. The influence of Hauge’s message, and the revival that followed in its wake, caused significant change not only in the Norwegian church, but also in the areas of education, business, politics, and social welfare, to such an extent that the consequences are considered to be perceivable two hundred years or so later.

In reading the vast literature on Hauge and the Haugian revival it soon becomes clear that although Hauge is accredited with such enduring influence there has still been no convincing proposition as to the precise nature and action of the spark in his message that ignited the blaze of religious fervour which ensued. No one denies that Hauge’s preaching and writing were key factors in the initiation of the Haugian revival and the changes that followed in its wake, but the question remains under debate as to what it was about Hauge’s message that changed people’s lives. Providing a possible answer to this issue is the fundamental aim of my research.

From the outset, my research task was limited by the fact that Hauge preached extemporarily; he did not prepare his oral sermons, nor did he or any of his followers record what he preached - all that remains of Hauge’s ideology and message is contained in his printed works. This fact consequently narrowed down the field of my research to the matter of determining whether Hauge’s writings, particularly his four early texts, might contain the answer to my fundamental research question.

On first inspection Hauge's early texts appear to defy all means of formal classification, thus identifying a suitable paradigm with which to approach them presented somewhat of a challenge. As Hauge's conversion experience on 5 April 1796 is often described as a moment when he was filled with the Holy Spirit, and is regarded by many as key to Hauge's perception of his calling to proclaim his message, I began to consider that examining Hauge as a 'Spirit inspired' prophet and his message as 'Spirit inspired' prophecy might be an original avenue of enquiry worth pursuing.

This line of investigation brought me in contact with Walter Brueggemann's book *The Prophetic Imagination* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 2001). Here Brueggemann describes biblical prophetic speech as having two functions - prophetic criticising and prophetic energising - which he proposes work together to provide the means by which prophecy functions to alter the consciousness of the receiver so that an alternative future is spoken into being. As Hauge's texts are of a religious nature and draw heavily on the text of the Bible, both in terms of quotations and as a source for his lexis, it seemed reasonable to investigate whether the dialectic function of prophetic speech proposed by the paradigm 'prophetic imagination' could be identified in Hauge's early writings in such a way as to explain resultant change in the receiver. Thus my research project, *Hans Nielsen Hauge and the Prophetic Imagination*, was born.

In essence the title of my research project begs three questions: 'Who was Hans Nielsen Hauge?', 'What is prophetic imagination?' and 'How do I intend to relate the one to the other?' In this introduction I shall deal with the first question by presenting a brief biography of Hauge's life. This will be followed by a review of the literature to date which will indicate the main trends in Hauge research as I perceive them, and how my work relates to these areas. This review ends by identifying a gap in Hauge research which can be profitably filled by examining Hauge's early texts as prophecy, and is followed by an outline of how I intend to structure the remainder of this thesis.

The second question, 'What is prophetic imagination?' is addressed in Chapter 1 in which I present a description of the nature and workings of Brueggemann's

paradigm. Chapter 1 also demonstrates how various foundational suppositions of prophetic imagination relate to Hauge's historical context, and thus begins to answer the question as to how Hauge and prophetic imagination relate to each other – the task of which continues throughout the remainder of the thesis.

1. A biographical sketch

There is no shortage of biographies of Hans Nielsen Hauge; the brief biographical sketch presented here is for those unfamiliar with Hauge's life. Besides his own writing - particularly *Løbebanen* (1796), *Beskrivelser over det aandelige Livets Løb og Strid* (1804), *Hans Nielsen Hauges Reiser* (1816), and *Religiøse Føleser* (1817) - the main Norwegian biographical sources on Hauge are Bang (1874) and Norborg (1966, 1970). The major sources in English are Nodvedt (1965) and Shaw (1979).

Hans Nielsen Hauge lived from 3 April 1771 to 29 March 1824. He was one of the eight surviving children of Niels Mikkelsen and Marie Oldsdatter, who worked a small farm at Hauge in the parish of Tune near Fredrikstad in south eastern Norway (*Skr.* I 108, Bang 1910:8). The pious nature of the family no doubt contributed to the depth of religious deliberation that Hauge records as a major preoccupation of his childhood and adolescence. These years were coloured by inner turmoil in which Hauge struggled to choose between God and 'the world' (*Skr.* I 109). Hauge makes much of various childhood incidents in which he almost died, the most well known of which concerned a boating accident on the River Glomma (*Skr.* I 109). The impression one gets from these recollections is that Hauge considered that he was saved from death for the great work God had predestined him to do.

In 1795 Hauge spent a year working as a butcher's apprentice in Fredrikstad. He described this time as one of suffering much taunting from his peers, not only for his lowly occupation, but for his dedication to prayer and Bible reading (*Skr.* I 112-113). Eventually Hauge returned home at the request of his parents. On 5 April 1796, while ploughing a field below the family home, Hauge had the religious experience that radically altered his outlook and the subsequent course

of his life. Although Hauge alludes to this experience in his early writings, the most detailed record dates from twenty years after the event, when he used the following words:

‘Engang, som jeg arbeidede under aaben Himmel, sang jeg udenad paa den Psalme: Jesus din søde Forening at smage etc., da jeg havde sjunget det andet Vers: Styrk mig ret kraftig i Sjelen derinde, At jeg kan finde, hvad Aanden formaaer, Tag mig til Fange i min Tale og Sind, Leed mig og lok mig saa svag som jeg gaar; Mig og hvad mit er jeg gjerne vil miste, Naar du allene i Sjelen kan boe, Og sig omsider paa Døren maa liste, Hvad som forstyrrer min inderlig Roe. Nu blev mit Sind saa opløftet til Gud, at jeg ikke sansede mig, eller kan udsige hvad som foregik i min Sjæl; thi jeg var uden for mig selv, og det første min Forstand samlede sig, da fortrød jeg paa, at jeg ikke havde tjent den kjære og over alting gode Gud, og at jeg nu syntes Intet i Verden var at agte. At min Sjæl følte noget Overnaturligt, Guddommeligt og Saligt; at det var en Herlighed, som ingen Tunge kan udsige, det mindes jeg till denne Dag saa klart, som det skulde skeet faa Dage siden, da det dog nu er 20 Aar forløben siden Guds Kjærlighed saa overvættes besøgte mig. Ingen kan heller fradisputere mig dette; for jeg veed alt det Gode i min Aand, som fulgte fra denne Stund, især den inderlige brændende Kjerlighed til Gud og min Neste, at jeg havde et ganske forandret Sind, en Sorg over alle Synder, en Begjærighed at Menneskene skulde blive deelagtige med mig i samme Naade; en særdeles Lyst til at læse i den hellige Skrift, især Jesu egen Lære, samt nyt Lys at forstaae den, og sammenbinde alle Guds Mænds Lærdom til det ene Maal, at Kristus er kommen til vor Frelser, at vi skulde ved hans Aand fødes paany, omvende os, helliges meer og meer efter Guds Egenskaper til at tjene den treenige Gud allene, for at forædle og berede vor Sjæl til den evige Salighed. Det var da ligesom jeg saae Verden nedsænkt i det Onde, hvilket jeg sørgede meget over, og bad Gud skulde forhale med Straffen, saa kunde Nogle omvende sig. Jeg vilde nu gjerne tjene Gud, bad han vilde aabenbare mig hvad jeg skulde gjøre. Det igjenlød i mitt Indre: Du skal bekjende mit Navn for Menneskene, formane dem at omvende sig og søge mig medens jeg findes, kalde paa mig naar jeg er nær og rører ved deres Hjerter, saa kunde de omvende sig fra Mørket til Lyset.’

(Skr. VI 126, 20 – Skr. VI 127, 22)

That evening Hauge talked earnestly with his family, resulting in two of his sisters becoming ‘forandrede i deres Sind’ (Skr. I 127). This initial success in the home began what was to become eight years of intensive writing and itinerant preaching on Hauge’s part. In the weeks after his experience, Hauge spent his spare time writing his first book, *En Betragtning over Verdens Daarlighed*

(1796), which he took to be published in Kristiania at his own expense in the early summer. His second book, *Forsøg til en Afhandling om Guds Viisdom*, was published that autumn. Hauge distributed these books in the places he preached. Initially he spoke in homes in his own locality of Rolfsøy, but in time he began to travel further a field to places such as Moss, Frederikstad, Kristiania, Drammen and Kongsberg. This activity did not go unnoticed by the church authorities. After speaking at a house in Fredrikstad during Christmas 1797 Hauge was arrested on the charge of breaking the Conventicle Act (1741), the opening paragraph of which stated that '*Enhver skal ... ikke, under Prætext at ville opbygge andre og opvække Siæle, ... gaae om fra Sted til andet, eller bemænge sig med Lære-Embetet, hvortil de hverken have Guds eller Menneskelig Kald*' (Christian Rex 1952:265).

Spring 1798 found Hauge speaking in Kristiania. This resulted in two separate arrests, which provoked the writing of *En Sandheds Bekiendelse* and *De Eenfoldiges Lære* respectively. Hauge subsequently travelled to Bergen and Stavanger, presumably to avoid further harassment from the authorities, before returning home in the late autumn. In 1799 he returned to Bergen and from there he travelled north to Trondheim with the intention of finding another printer for his books. While in Trondheim he was placed under arrest and remained imprisoned for three months for breach of the Conventicle Act. During this imprisonment Hauge wrote *Den Christelige Lære* (1800), a collection of sermons based on the lectionary readings for the church year. After his release, Hauge travelled home through the centre of Norway and continued south to Copenhagen, where he spent the summer of 1800 printing and binding his books. Commentators make much of the fact that during his months in Copenhagen Hauge kept four printing presses running constantly to meet the demand for his various books which were subsequently shipped back to Norway for distribution.

A summer in Denmark gave Hauge time to think about how to prevent the religious movement he had founded falling into disrepute: there were many accusations that the '*Haugianere*' were neglecting their work and spending time in prayer, song and Bible reading. Some groups on the fringe of the movement

had withdrawn from society and were waiting for the return of Christ. Hauge returned to Norway in autumn 1800 to correct these distorted beliefs and with plans to set the believers to work. Part of the latter initiative included the establishment of a papermill at Eiker - a co-operative enterprise led by Hauge's brother, where the workers and their families lived in community.

In the summer of 1801, Hauge astounded his followers and critics alike by becoming a citizen of Bergen. Besides permitting him to operate as a merchant, Hauge's citizenship papers legitimised his travelling, countering the charges of vagrancy that were being made against him. While in Bergen, he purchased a business property which was managed on his behalf by Johan Loose, who had married Hauge's sister Karen. Hauge also purchased a small fleet of boats. At the end of 1801 Hauge made a preaching tour on foot up the western coast of Norway to the fishing station on Gjeslingen. There he met up with his ships which had sailed up the coast bringing corn to exchange for herring and cod before returning to Bergen.

In the two years which followed, Hauge made extensive circular tours of Norway during which he preached at every opportunity. The first, in 1802, began in Bergen and took Hauge through Lærdal, Hallingdal and Numedal to Tune, and then back to Bergen via Tønsberg, Skien, and Telemark. The journey of 1803 took Hauge as far north as Tromsø, from where he returned south through Namdalen, Trondheim, Gudsbrandsdalen, Kristiania, Telemark, Setesdal, Kristiansand, and Stavanger. Hauge arrived back in Bergen in March 1804.

Hauge's last journey, in summer 1804, took him by boat from Bergen to Stavanger and then on to Denmark. It is thought that his intention was to petition the king concerning what he considered his right to preach and write, but he returned to Tune without having presented his case. On 29 October 1804, en route to Bergen, Hauge was arrested for the eleventh and last time at Eiker papermill. Thus Hauge's travelling came to an end. In eight years he had covered a distance of 7,000 km, mainly on foot, preaching everywhere he

travelled, sometimes four times a day - and everywhere he went he had usually been accompanied by someone who carried and distributed his books.

After a short time in Hokksund prison, Hauge was transferred to a cell in the *Raadhus* in Kristiania while his case was investigated. He was held on four charges: 1) alleged breach of the Vagrancy Act (*Løsgjengerloven*), 2) alleged breach of trading laws (*Handelsloven*), 3) alleged breach of laws concerning freedom of the press (*Trykkefrihetsloven*), and 4) for breaking the Conventicle Act (*Konventikkelplakaten*) (Aarflot 1969:98). Hauge's case was one of the longest in Norwegian history; judgement and sentencing did not take place until December 1813 (Breistein 1955:308).

During the years between his arrest and sentencing, Hauge suffered deteriorating health; in the first year of his imprisonment he went out into the fresh air on only three occasions. The eventual intervention of Chief Justice Bull gave Hauge some access to the outside world, including a few months of freedom helping to set up salt works in Sørlandet during the English blockade (Shaw 1976:129).

Hauge was finally sentenced to two years' hard labour in Akershus Castle, narrowly avoiding a sentence of life imprisonment. He appealed to the higher court (*Overkriminalsretten*) against this sentence, an action which resulted in him being cleared of financial misdealing. The new judgement, passed on 23 December 1814, resulted in a fine of 1,000 *riksdaler* for breaking the Conventicle Act and breaching the laws concerning freedom of the press (Aarflot 1969:99).

Hauge's property and possessions had been impounded and sold after his arrest in 1804. After his release in 1814, his fine was paid by contributions from his followers and Hauge moved to a farm at Bakke provided by his brother. The next year Hauge married Andrea Nyhus, who died in childbirth within twelve months of their marriage leaving Hauge with a baby son (Bang 1910:429). Hauge subsequently moved to a farm at Bredvedt and married Ingeborg Oldsdatter. All three of their children died in infancy (Bang 1910:430).

Despite Hauge's continually deteriorating health, his farm became the central focus of the Haugian movement and he received a stream of visitors. In his final years Hauge wrote some of his more well known titles: *Hans Nielsen Hauges Reiser* (1816), *Religiøse Følelser* (1817) and *Udtog af Kirke-Historien* (1822). Hauge died on 29 March 1824, aged 53 (Bang 1910:433).

2. Two hundred years of literature

The literature concerning Hans Nielsen Hauge is extensive; few men in Norwegian history have had more written about them (Aarflot 1969:22). The bulk of the literature is in Norwegian. Approximately five hundred titles were produced between 1796 and 1957 alone, including Hauge's own works (Aarflot 1969:22, Ording 1954:293-328). These titles and more are included in Sjursen's exhaustive bibliographic survey which encompasses the literature until 1993 (Sjursen 1993). Popular literature about Hauge burgeoned in 1996 - the two hundredth jubilee of his conversion. These titles and a plethora of unpublished dissertations in theology and sociology are accessible through BIBSYS, the electronic catalogue of Norway's universities. The recent published academic literature is traceable through the bibliographies of material published as a result of the project *Norsk sakprosa* (see Section 2.3.6). Despite the overwhelming surfeit, the Norwegian Hauge literature shows a discernible thread in its historical development which can be broken down into four phases: the primary sources, the nineteenth century, the twentieth century, and the contemporary sources.

The limited amount of literature on Hauge in English was published in America and is highly derivative of Bang (1874) and Koht (1926). Although out of print, the main publications remain Shaw's translation of Aarflot's thesis (Aarflot 1979) and Shaw's biography (Shaw 1979).

2.1 Hauge the author

2.1.1 A publishing phenomenon

Besides having much written about him, for an uneducated man (*Skr.* II 76), Hauge himself was a prolific writer. His collected writings have been described by Gundersen as a publishing phenomenon that provided ‘*et helt bibliotek for den troende allmuen*’ - pamphlets, sermons, a catechism, a prayer book, a travelogue, a collection of aphorisms, letters and articles, a hymnal, several autobiographies, and a history of the church (Gundersen 2001:10). The pre-1804, or ‘pre-imprisonment’ titles, were an important resource in the mobilisation of the Haugean movement, whereas the later titles consolidated the movement once it was established (Bang 1910:109, Strandbakken 1987:93). Hauge produced a number of texts during his imprisonment (1804-1814), but these were not published during his lifetime (Aarflot 1969:102-118). Hauge also published texts by other authors (Hjelde 1954:279-288), and was an inveterate letter writer (Kvammen 1971-1976). Hauge’s most notable titles are listed below (see following pages) in Table 1 and Table 2 (Sjursen 1993:19-25).

2.1.2 Instruments for change

Hauge’s early texts played a significant role in the initial mobilisation of the Haugean movement (Snow 1986). This significance is reflected in the number of copies that were produced and distributed. Each edition numbered between 3,000 and 5,000 copies (*Skr.* VI, 21), and before Hauge’s final arrest *Verdens Daarlighed* ran to six editions (Mannsåker 1947a:67), *Guds Viisdom* ran to three editions (Mannsåker 1947b:143), *En Sandheds Bekiendelse* ran to six editions, and *De Eenfoldiges Lære* ran to five editions (Sjursen 1993:21). This means that a possible total of 100,000 copies of Hauge’s first four texts were distributed. It has been estimated that in total Hauge distributed approximately 250,000 copies of his various publications before his final arrest (Selmer 1940:257).

***Texts written before
Hauge's imprisonment (pre-1804)***

Betragtning over Verdens Daarlighed (1796)

*Forsøg til en Afhandling om Guds Viisdom, betragtet
over Lectien og Evangelium paa Allehelgens-Dag* (1796)

En Sandheds Bekiendelse om en Saligheds Sag (1798)

*De Eenfoldiges Lære og Afmægtiges Styrke
betragtet over Evangelium og Lexien paa Michels-Dag* (1798)

Anviisning til nogle Mærkelige Sprog i Bibelen (1798)

Betragtning over Herrens Bøn (1799)

Den sande Christnes udvalgte Psalmebog (1799)

Christendommens Lærdoms Grunde, bind I (1800)

*Den Christelige Lære, forklaret over Epistlerne
og Evangelierne* (1800)

Christendommens Lærdoms Grunde, bind II (1800)

Tillæg til Bibelanviisningen (1800)

Betænkning til Guds Børns Samtale med sin Skabere (1803)

Christendommens Lærdoms Grunde, bind III (1804)

Forklaring over Loven og Evangelium (1804)

Table 1: *Texts published by Hauge before his final arrest in October 1804*

***Texts written after
Hauge's release (post-1814)***

Religieuse Sange (1815)

*Beskrivelse over Hans Nielsen Hauges Reiser,
vigtigste Hændelser og Tildragelser* (1816)

Om de Religiøse Følelser og deres Værd (1817)

Livet i Døden (1818)

Udvalgte Psalmer af Troens rare Klenodie (1819)

Betragtning over nogle Bibelske Sprog (1820)

Betragtninger over enkelte Fest- og Helligdages Texter (1820)

Udtog av Kirke Historien (1821)

Huus-Postil (1822)

Vidnesbyrd om den christelige Religions Fortrinlighed (1822)

Anmærkninger over første Corinthier femtende Capitel (1823)

Table 2: *Texts published by Hauge after his release from prison in 1814*

The significance these texts had for the members of farming communities is reflected in the records of the numbers of Hauge's books which were impounded after his arrest in 1804. Bang (1896) quotes documentation stating that 926 copies of Hauge's publications were seized from 84 farms in 'Søndmøre' (See Table 3 below, and Selmer 1940:257). Considering that Norway then had a population of approximately 800,000 people (Dyrvik 1995:131), the available records of the number of Hauge's books impounded per capita compared with the probable number of books produced implies that there was approximately one copy of any of Hauge's pre-1804 books to every five people. It is also probable that each book had more than one reader or was read repeatedly,

significantly increasing the per capita influence of these books (Heggtveit 1905:295). Such data leads scholars to conclude that Hauge was one of the most read authors in Norway's history, and that his texts and the reason for their effectiveness are worthy of closer examination (Gundersen 2001:11).

<i>List of Hauge's publications confiscated from farms in 'Søndemøre'</i>	
1. <i>Evangeliske Levnets-Regler</i>	96
2. <i>Kristelige Levnets-Regler</i>	110
3. <i>Betragtning og Forklaring over Herrens Bøn</i>	26
4. <i>Forklaring over Loven og Evangelium</i>	31
5. <i>De Eenfoldiges Lære og Afmægtiges Styrke</i>	63
6. <i>En liden Sang, skrevet i disse urolige Dage</i>	35
7. <i>En Sandheds Bekiendelse om en Saligheds Sag</i>	85
8. <i>Betragtning over Verdens Daarlighed</i>	69
9. <i>Uddrag af Tauleri Omvendelseshistorie</i>	13
10. <i>Betænkning til Guds Børns Samtale</i>	33
11. <i>Forsøg til en Afhandling om Guds Viisdom</i>	54
12. <i>Kristendommens Lærdoms-Grunde</i>	107
13. <i>Det nye Testaments apokryfiske Bøger</i>	24
14. <i>Den kristelige Lære</i>	40
15. <i>De sande Kristens udvalgte Psalme-bog</i>	88
16. <i>Jesu Kristi Forklaring i Sjælen</i>	32
17. Copies missing title page	20
TOTAL	926
At the time these books were impounded, Sunnmøre had little more than 24, 000 inhabitants.	

Table 3: *List of Hauge's publications confiscated from farms in Sunnmøre in 1805 (after Bang 1896:36-37)*

2.1.3 Hauge's early texts

Hauge's first four texts are those which will be examined in this thesis, although reference is also made to Hauge's later writings. The reason that the early texts were selected is that they are those which contributed to the mobilisation of the Haugian movement (Strandbakken 1987:86). The spark that ignited a religious revival is more likely to be located in these early texts than in later ones largely due to the fact that they were written comparatively soon after Hauge's formative religious experience. The overwhelming and transformative nature of this event filled Hauge with a religious passion which overflowed into his preaching and writing. This is evidenced in the vocative character of his early writing which is particularly evidenced in the first two texts which were written within sixth months of the event. The second two texts were written within the next two years, a while after Hauge's initial religious experience. However, in 1798 a minor religious experience resulting from his reading of Tauler's *Omvendelseshistorie* (Skr. VII 199 - 247) refuelled Hauge's initial passion after a period of self-doubt (Bang 1910:69). Besides his anger at the authorities for their mishandling of him and their misunderstanding of his mission, this second experience undoubtedly contributed to the impassioned style of his third and fourth texts (Bang 1910:95). Hauge's early enthusiasm and the freshness of his continuing spiritual experience thus enhances the possibility that an unconventional mode of religious expression, such as prophetic speech, may be more readily identifiable here than in his later pre-imprisonment texts (1800-1804) which appear to have been the given the more measured consideration characteristic of the 'organization building' phase of a social movement (Lakey 2002).

Hauge's first text, *Betragtning over Verdens Daarlighed* (hereafter denoted by *BVD*), was finished by 5 June 1796, two months after his religious experience (Mannsaker 1947a:64). It consists of a preface, five chapters whose titles describe their subject matter, and a short section headed '*Formaning*'. To this Hauge appended his first autobiography, '*Løbebanen*', and a postscript (see Table 4 on next page).

Betragtning over Verdens Daarlighed

Forerindring (second editon onwards)

Fortale til Læseren

Det første Capitel: Om vor allernaadigste Konge, af Guds gode og naadige Forsyn til at regiere landet

Det andet Capitel: Om dets mislige Forhold

Det tredie Capitel: Om dets onde Følger

Det fjerde Capitel: Om Christendommens Lærdom og dens Agtpaagivenhed

Det femte Capitel: Om Autors mening hvad det burde være værd efter den hellige Skriftes Indhold

Formaning

Løbebanen

Efterskrift

Bidrag (second edition onwards)

Sang

Table 4: The contents of *Betragtning over Verdens Daarlighed* (1796)

Hauge's second text, *Forsøg til en Afhandling om Guds Viisdom* (hereafter denoted by *GV*), was written over a period of five or six weeks once Hauge had returned home from taking *BVD* to Jens Ørbæk Bergs Trykkeri in Kristiania (Mannsåker 1947b:137). As with *BVD*, and the later *De Eenfoldiges Lære og Afmægtiges Styrke* (1798), the title is ironical and plays on Paul's words in 1 Corinthians 1:18-31 which describe God's foolishness as wiser than human wisdom, and God's weakness as stronger than human strength (Brueggemann 2001:xxi, *Skr.* I 236). *GV* has seven chapters, the first of which makes up half of the book. The seventh chapter (*GV-7*) is notable in that it consists of Hauge's

explanation of the prophetic signs in Revelation, the last book of the Bible. *GV* ends with *Forsvar* - Hauge's first written defence against his critics - and three songs. Like *BVD*, the second edition has an added postscript (see Table 5 below).

<i>Forsøg til en Afhandling om Guds Viisdom, forfattet i syv Kapitler</i>
<i>Forerindring</i> (second edition onwards)
<i>Fortale til mine kiære Læser!</i>
<i>Det første Capitel: Om Guds Væsen, Gierninger og Villie</i>
<i>Det andet Capitel: Om de Mennesker der har efterfulgt Guds Villie, og hvad Fristelser og Trængsler de haver havt, og hvad Gud lover dem efter Døden</i>
<i>Det tredie Capitel: Om de Mennesker der haver fulgt sit Slange-Billede eller Satan, og dets Følger</i>
<i>Det fjerde Capitel: Om de forføreiske Lærere og deres Frugter, tilligemed havd dem foraarsager</i>
<i>Det femte Capitel: Om Omvendelsen og hvorledes den bør skee</i>
<i>Det siette Capitel: Om en sand Christens Strid i Verden, som han maae have før han faaer Kronen</i>
<i>Formaning</i>
<i>Det syvnede Capitel: Forklaring over nogle Profesier</i>
<i>Tilskrift</i> (second edition onwards)
<i>Sang x 3</i>

Table 5: The contents of *Forsøg til en Afhandling om Guds Viisdom* (1796)

Besides the publication of other authors' material, e.g. *Evangeliske Levnets Regler* (1796), Hauge's remaining two early texts include *En Sandheds Bekiendelse om Saligheds Sag* (hereafter denoted as *SB*), written in the week

between 29 January and 7 February 1798, and *De Eenfoldiges Lære og Afmægtiges Styrke* (hereafter denoted as *EL*), published in Bergen the summer of the same year (Mannsåker 1948:9-12). Hauge wrote *SB* to defend his actions after his first arrest on 27 December 1797 (*Skr.* VI, 97). *EL* was written around 11 June 1798 in response to two separate arrests in Kristiania (*Skr.* VI, 98, Mannsåker 1948:12). The style and content of these texts are characterised more by attack than defence; but an attack cloaked in the form of ‘*betragtninger*’ (devotional thoughts) based on the lectionary readings for two different saints’ days (See Tables 6 and Table 7 below).

***En Sandheds Bekiendelse om Saligheds Sag,
betragtet over Lectien og Evangelium paa Allehelgens-Dag,***

*der forklarer om Løgnens Aand, som forvender
eller falske trøster sig ved Guds Ords Kraft;
og tillige lærer, hvorledes sande Christne ved Guds Ord
og Aand kan og bør igiendrive de Onde*

Til Læseren

Forklaring obver Lexcien i Aabenbarings Bog 7 Cap.

Forklaring over Evangelium i Matheum 5 Cap. fra 1 til 12 V.

*Nogle Gjendrivelses, 2 Tim. 2 Cap. 25v., af de fire onde
Engle eller mennesker, der modsætter Guds sande Ord og
forvender til Løgn, Rom. 1 Cap. 25 v.*

Opmuntring til de Gode

Table 6: The contents of *En Sandheds Bekiendelse* (1798)

SB ends with a series of defences against four types of critic. These ‘*Gjendrivelses*’ have a covert apocalyptic undertone that can only be discerned by reading them in the light of *GV-7* (see Chapter 5). *EL* ends with a *Tillæg med Overbeviisning* whose tone is considered to make *EL* the most aggressive pamphlet Hauge produced. This aspect of the fourth text was enhanced in the third (1801) and fourth (1804) editions when the meditations on the lectionary

readings were excised leaving only the preface and *Tillæg* intact (Mannsåker 1948:14). In this form *EL* was a strong contribution to the issuing of the warrant for Hauge's final arrest.

<p><i>De Eenfoldiges Lære og Afmægtiges Styrke betragtet over Evangelium og Lexien paa Michels-Dag,</i></p> <p><i>der underviser, hvorledes vi skal være som Børn, naar det angaar vor egen Ære og timelige Skade; men mandige og stærke, naar det gjelder Guds Ære og hans Kirkes Skade.</i></p> <p><i>Kiere Brødre!</i></p> <p><i>Betragtning over Evangelium. Math. 18 Cap. fra 1 til 10 Vers.</i></p> <p><i>Lexien, Aabenb. 12 Cap. fra 7 til 12v.</i></p> <p><i>Tillæg med Overbeviisning for dem, der modsætter Sandheden, og bestyrkelse for de Svag-Troende.</i></p>

Table 7: The contents of *De Eenfoldiges Lære og Afmægtiges Styrke* (1798)

2.1.4 'Daarlighed' and 'Viisdom'

Since their publication, scholars have considered the success of Hauge's early texts to be a mystery (Gundersen 2001:14). Among other things, the texts have been described as '*en litterær Forbrytelse*' (Hagerup 1803:319) and, in relation to their style, as '*høist elendige og usammenhengende*' (Brun 1810:52). This early scholarly disdain was not based purely on theological weaknesses in the texts (Welle 1948:158), but on what is now commonly accepted as Hauge's '*svake disposisjon av sitt stoff*' in which '*de forskjelligste tanker [kommer ofte] inn på de underligste steder*' (Mannsåker 1947a:68), besides the presence of many '*innviklede perioder, setningsbrudd, rettskrivings- og tegnsetningsfeil*' (p.73). These deficiencies have led to more recent descriptions of the early texts as '*omtrent uleselige*' (Welle 1948:158), '*psykedeliske*' (Strandbakken 1978:87), and as having the power to give a contemporary reader '*en dundrende hodepine*'

(Kullerud 1996:91) because they are so '*obskur[e] og ugjennomtrengelig[e]*' (Gundersen 2001:15).

Despite the varying shades of bemusement with which Hauge's texts have been received by two hundred years of scholarly readership, common readers of Hauge's time did not seem to notice their formal and grammatical deficiencies (Bang 1910:110). To them these texts were not foolishness, but God's wisdom: '*enkelte Ord med Braad, der ikke hørte opp at vitne før Hjertet var bøiet*' (Bang 1910:110); '*ildefulde og gjennomtrængt af levende Kristendom*' (Heggtveit 1905:295); and they had '*en indre kraft og varme, som gjør dem mer veltalende enn ypperlige formede produkter av mindre trossterke forfattere*' (Welle 1948:158).

Various reasons have been cited as to why Hauge's texts moved the common reader, namely:

- a) Hauge wrote in a language that the people understood (Heggtveit 1905:295),
- b) Hauge understood how the common people thought and felt (Gilje 1994:4),
- c) the texts contained '*mange geniale og slaaende aforistiske Enkelheder*' (Bang 1910:110)
- d) the texts contained '*det Personlighedens Liv, der med Erfarings Sikkerhed og Overbevisnings Magt kommer til Aabenbarelse*' (Bang 1910:110).

Although these explanations are compelling, they are inferences derived from a superficial reading of the texts, and are far from providing a satisfactory explanation as to the fundamental persuasive moment in texts that '*slog an i Folket*' (Bang 1910:109). Besides these common passing observations on the effects of Hauge's writings on the reader, the literature has, until recently, been focussed in other directions than on the precise persuasive moments of Hauge's rhetoric.

2.2 The early literature

The debate around Hauge and his '*Sectvæsen*' in newspapers and theological journals published in his lifetime reflected the then religious and philosophical climate (Aarflot 1969:30). With some notable exceptions, the picture was negative: Hauge was perceived as a charlatan who misled the simple-minded by undermining the authority of the clergy and as someone whose old fashioned religious language hindered the church's endeavour to enlighten the common people (Hagerup 1083a, 1803b, Teilman 1805, Thaulow 1805, Mynster 1806, Wergeland 1806, Müller 1807, Brekkan 1999, Amundsen 2001, Gundersen 2005).

Hauge's more conservative attitude towards the end of his life moderated his reception among the clergy and academics. This is reflected in Stenersen's biography of Hauge, published three years after Hauge's death, in which Hauge is portrayed as 'problematic rather than dangerous' (Amundsen 2001:33). Stenersen intended to give an objective evaluation of Hauge's teaching while avoiding offending Hauge's surviving followers (Stenersen 1827:2-7). The second objective was bound to fail due to Stenersen's questioning of Hauge's belief that he had received a special calling to preach the gospel (p.90), and his query as to why Hauge could not have exercised his task within the framework of his normal daily work rather than travelling and preaching (p.88). Besides finding '*mange Feil i [Hauges] Lære*' (p.7), Stenersen claimed that Hauge depended on '*en annen Aabenbarings Kilde*' (p.99) than the Bible as the basis for his teaching, i.e. direct revelation from the Holy Spirit; that Hauge did not substantiate '*Aandens Opplysning*' (p.100) with what is revealed about God and his will in the Bible; and '*uden Betænkning udgav sine egne Infald for at være Skriftens Lære*' (p.103).

Tollef Olsen Bache responded to Stenersen's analysis with a book intended to provide '*en anden historisk Beretning*' for the reference of future generations (Bache 1828). Bache defended Hauge's conviction of his special calling (p.22, p.95) and pointed to the NT and Luther to argue that '*Enhver [har] Magt til at prædige, paa hvad Stæd Folket vil høre det, det være i Huset og paa Torvet*'

(p.101). Twenty years later, Michel Grendahl produced a short biography in which he too responded to Stenersen's criticisms (Grendahl 1849). He admitted that Hauge and his followers deserved the title '*Sværmere*' in the sense that they considered they had been '*umiddelbar kaldet til Botsprædikanter*' rather than in the sense of peddling wrong doctrine (p.46). However, he qualified this opinion with reference to Pastor Hesselberg's statement that '*naar et Folk er uden Redskap fortabt, vil den kjere (sic) Gud nok vide at udruste Tunger, som taler efter hans Villie, og at den gode Hans N. Hauge ikke blev en reen Sværmer den vei han gik, men selv holdt til Landets Kirke*' (Hesselberg 1828 in Grendahl 1849:46). Grendahl described Hauge's criticism of the church as '*en Række profetiske Udsagn*' but insisted that Hauge never claimed to have had strictly '*umiddelbar Inspirasjon*' as witnessed by the fact that he always referred his readers to the Bible (Grendahl 1849:10).

This polarisation of opinion concerning Hauge's life and work continued until the publication of Anton Christian Bang's seminal biography *Hans Nielsen Hauge og hans Samtid* (Bang 1874). This book has been described as the reason why '*lekpredikanten fra Tune har den plass som han har i [Norges] kirkefolks bevissthet*' (Molland 1979:223). Hauge's hero status was created by Bang's success in depicting Hauge's life as a turning point in Norwegian church history (Bang 1910:4) and by his success in assimilating Hauge neatly into the apparatus of the Lutheran Church by describing Hauge's actions as '*kirkehistorisk berettiget og ren kirkelig lægmandsoptræden*' despite his '*Brøst, Mangler og Misgreb*' (Bang 1910:3). This view of Hauge was reinforced by Heggtveit's *Den norske Kirke i det nittende Aarhundrede*, which reviews a century of change in Norwegian church history in the light of Hauge's spiritual legacy (Heggtveit 1905-1915). Heggtveit's two volumes draw on Bang, but their main value is the content deriving from collections of letters and the oral recollections of first-hand observers.

2.3 Trends in twentieth-century Hauge research

The twentieth century marked a turn in the literature on Hauge. Besides the continuing production of biographies, various trends in Hauge research began to emerge, particularly in the fields of theology, politics, economics, sociology. In

the 1990s the literature began to reflect recent academic trends in that it embraced women's studies and newer areas of literary criticism such as reception studies and rhetorical studies.

2.3.1 Biography

Most of the early twentieth century biographies fed heavily on Bang and contributed nothing new (e.g. Hauge 1924, Koht 1936a, 1936b, Sivertsen 1946). The major biographical work of academic importance produced in the twentieth century was Norborg's psychoanalytical approach to Hauge's life which depicted his actions in the light of his self-confessed childhood angst (Norborg 1966, Norborg 1970). This was balanced by *Hans Nielsen Hauges Liv og Budskap* (Aarflot 1971), a popular version of a theological thesis (Aarflot 1969). Besides these key biographical texts, many popular books and articles with a biographical aspect marked the two hundredth anniversary of Hauge's conversion in 1996 (e.g. Colstrup 1996, Halvorsen 1996, Magnus 1996, Kullerud 1996, Sjaastad 1996, Thorvaldsen 1996). Recent publications within the field of reception studies have examined the history of biographers' representation of Hauge and how this has contributed to his construction as a national symbol while toning down the radical nature of his message and actions (Amundsen 1997, 2001).

2.3.2 Theology

The key theological text of the twentieth century was Aarflot's thesis, *Tro og Lydighet* (1969), which examines Hauge's understanding of Christianity against a schema of subheadings representing key topics in Lutheran doctrine in order to 'kartlegge [Hauges] kristelige grunntanker' (Aarflot 1969:19). Although this approach has led to Aarflot being accused of squeezing Hauge's teaching into a mould acceptable to the Lutheran church (Gundersen 2001:21), the material from Hauge's writings is, in my opinion, presented as objectively as possible so that '*Hauge selv kommer til orde*' in relation to each subtopic in hand (Aarflot 1969:19). As such, Aarflot's thesis is the nearest we have to a subject concordance of Hauge's extensive literary production.

The other major theme in the theological literature has been the discussion of Hauge's conversion experience and religious development; the main question being '*Kva var det då som hende med den unge Hans Hauge den vårdagen på åkerteigen heime på farsgarden?*' (Seierstad 1946:122). Opinion has naturally centred on Hauge's own narrative interpretation of the event, primarily the account in *Om Religiøse Følelser* (Skr. IV 126, 20ff, see Section 1 above). Koht has interpreted this account as a composite depiction of a number of 'low level' mystical experiences that Hauge experienced over the course of his childhood and adolescence (Koht 1936a:553), but Kornerup on the other hand is confident that the narration is derived from earlier sources and thus depicts a single event in Hauge's consciousness (Kornerup 1937:36). Dale's psychological examination of Hauge's writings concludes that the events Hauge recorded as occurring on 5 April 1796 were not one '*brå overgang fra natt til dag*', but '*en kronende avslutning*' to a series of spiritual experiences which centred variously on an intense conviction of sin, an understanding of God's fatherly love, and a deeper perception of God's grace (Dale 1942). Koch also understood Hauge's experience as the culmination of a gradual development, but one based on prayer, study of the Bible and conversations with others, intensified occasionally with experiences of a mystical nature (Koch 1959:7). Different again, Seierstad understood Hauge's experience as the moment when a heart and mind divided between attraction to the world and a desire to serve God came to a point of unification in a professed intent to serve God (Seierstad 1946:125); in this respect the experience can be considered to be a moment of true repentance rather than a mystical experience (p.126). Kornerup did however understand Hauge's experience as mystical and ecstatic; an opinion based on comments made by Hauge such as '*Nu blev mit Sind saa opløftet til Gud, at jeg ikke sansede mig, eller kan udsige hvad som foregik i min Sjæl; thi jeg var uden for mig selv*' (Skr. VI 126) and '*da blev jeg røgt (sic) fra min menneskelige Sands, og aabenbaret en Herlighed saa stor at [det] ikke med Ord kan siges*' (Skr. V 5) (see Kornerup 1937:564).

Commentators of Hauge's religious experience are however united in the opinion that this event formed the basis for Hauge's perception of his calling to take God's message to the people of Norway (Kornerup 1937:565, Koch 1959:9,

Aarflot 1969:94, Danbolt 1971:241). The most comprehensive survey of the link between Hauge's narrations of his religious experience and his assurance of his calling was made by Ording (1952), but it is Bang's 1896 sermon commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of Hauge's religious experience that provides the vital link between this event and my investigation of Hauge's message as prophecy (Bang 1907a).

Bang describes the '*pludselig Aandsopløftelse*' that Hauge experienced as a phenomenon not uncommon in the history of the church, being in the same category as the prophet Jeremiah's '*gjennembrud*' in which Jeremiah was called by God with the words '*jeg har satte dig til en Profet til Folkene*' (Jer. 1:5, Bang 1907a:22). Although Bang describes Hauge's experience as giving him '*klarhed i hans Saligheds Sag*', Bang also describes it as giving Hauge '*klarhed over hans Livsgjerning*' (p.24). Set in the context of Jeremiah's prophetic call narrative, the implication is clear; Bang sees Hauge's call as God's call to a prophet (Bang 1907a:25). No other commentator has depicted Hauge's experience in this light. In Chapter 3 of this thesis I build on Bang's depiction of Hauge as prophet by examining Hauge's early narrations of his religious experience in the light of the recognised structure of the biblical prophetic call narrative (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2).

2.3.3 Politics

Halvdan Koht's depiction of Hauge as a key participant in the history of the emancipation of the Norwegian peasantry (*bondestand*) was the first depiction of Hauge against any backdrop other than that of church history (Koht 1926). Koht attributed Hauge's success in mobilising the peasant population against officialdom (*embetsstand*) to him being a '*sjele-kjennar og sjele-styrar*' and in allowing his '*religiøse genie*' to '*stråla fram i talen hans*' – traits akin to Weber's notion of charismatic leadership (Koht 1926:340). Koht's work found strong representation in the first major analytical depiction of Hauge to be published in English (Nodvedt 1965).

Koht's study stimulated further examination of the political aspects of Hauge's life and work. Initially interest centred on the resistance met by Hauge in his

preaching and writing activity (Koht 1934, Schreiner 1934, Mannsåker 1961) and how this reflected the growing tension between the *bondestand* (the peasants) and the *embetsstand* (officialdom) (Steen 1945, Teigland 1973, Furre 1999). Later work documented the contribution Hauge's followers made to government (Bondevik 1975, Sjursen 1989a, 1989b, 1990, 1991), especially in relation to the abolition of the Conventicle Act in 1842 and the introduction of the law permitting religious dissent (*Dissenterloven*) in 1845 (Skullerud 1971, Sjursen 1993:98ff).

2.3.4 Economics

Hauge's economic activity also became a focus of interest (Sjursen 1993:119). Although there was some discussion about the claim that Hauge had administered a common fund ('*hellig Kasse*') for the Haugians before his imprisonment (Schreiner 1930), the main thrust has been on a description of Hauge's business enterprises (Bang 1875, Breistein 1955, Molland 1958, Flatø 1963,) and on the reasons for their success (Jonassen 1947, Sejersted 1973, Strandbakken 1987, Gilje 1994, Hopland, 1996). The latter debate has tended to centre on the suitability of Weber's theory regarding the connection between protestant ethics and the rise of capitalism (Weber 2002) as a means of explaining the economic growth of various Haugian enterprises.

2.3.5 Sociology

The first major sociological study of the Haugian movement was undertaken by Magnus, whose thesis was intended to demonstrate that religious revival is a motivational force for social change (Magnus 1978). Magnus presented an extensive description of Hauge's sociological context in order to explain the conditions that produced the Haugian movement, and then described the changes that took place in society as a result of the movement. Magnus also tested his findings against Marx, Durkheim and Weber's views of the role of religion in society, concluding that all three sets of ideas were unsuitable for interpreting the Haugian revival. Twenty five years later, the Haugian movement, and other social movements in nineteenth century Norway, are still considered to 'defy easy stereotypes and explanations' (Calhoun 2002:viii).

Strandbakken (1987) challenged Magnus' opinion that Weber's ideas were not applicable in the Norwegian context, but his study focussed more on the economical aspects of Weber's sociological theory than his ideas on the role of religion in society. A major step in sociological thinking about Hauge and the Haugian revival came in the form of Falch's use of Oberschall's resource mobilisation theory as a means of testing the intentionality of the sociological changes documented by Magnus (Falch 1993). Falch concluded that, although a religious message does affect the community in which it is received, the sociological changes and innovations caused by Hauge's activity were not preconceived intentions on Hauge's part when he first began to preach and write.

Furseth's dissertation broadened the application of resource mobilisation theory to the Haugian movement by using this theory alongside political process theory to make a comparative examination of mobilisation processes in the religious and political movements that occurred in Norway during the nineteenth century and the contexts each of these movements created for ones that followed (Furseth 2002). This study is an interesting development from Falch's, as Furseth emphasises that, besides material and human resources, beliefs and ideology are important in movement formation and mobilisation (p.42) although they cannot by themselves explain the emergence of a social or religious movement (p.388).

Furseth's study comes into close proximity with my research in that it acknowledges that Hauge's ideology and message were of key significance in the mobilisation of the Haugian movement (p.382). Sociologists interested in movement ideology have traditionally envisaged social change as the active result of 'perceived grievances', i.e. supposed deviations from 'a set of beliefs about the social world and how it operates, containing statements about the rightness of certain arrangements and what action can be taken in the light of those statements' (Wilson 1973:91-92). Furseth points out that Hauge's writings witness to the fact he had such a fixed set of beliefs (Furseth 2002:95); and that his printed message manifested all three of the commonly recognised components of movement ideology in that it 1) located the source of current social ills that were in need of change; 2) identified a solution to the problem and

had a vision of a world liberated from them; and 3) formulated a rationale for acting collectively on behalf of the movement (Wilson 1973:95-130).

Furthermore, Furseth states Snow's theory that a rationale for collective action (see point 3 above) usually demonstrates a further five characteristics (Furseth 2002:96, see Snow 1987:163-167). She then points out, albeit briefly, that Hauge's first book, *Verdens Daarlighed*, demonstrates all five of the characteristics in that he indicates that

- 1) God had ordained his mission (*Skr.* I 115)
- 2) his ideology was the only religious truth (*Skr.* I 96-104)
- 3) his teaching was a continuation of an older tradition (*Skr.* I 104)
- 4) those who participated in the collective action would be rewarded (*Skr.* I 86)
- 5) participants had a unique status (*Skr.* I 120-121) (Furseth 2002:96).

These rationales for collective action are very similar in formulation to the presuppositions of apocalyptic rhetoric that I have identified in Hauge's second book *Guds Viisdom* (see Chapter 5 of this thesis).

Another way to approach the issue of how beliefs and ideas contribute to movement mobilisation is provided by 'frame alignment theory' (Snow 1986, Furseth 2002:43). This model suggests that, in order to act on the world, movement participants need to perceive reality in a manner congruent with the way in which the movement or its initiator perceives reality, i.e. the 'individual frame' needs to be congruent with the 'corporate frame'. Frame alignment can take place by 1) frame bridging, 2) frame amplification, 3) frame extension, or 4) frame transformation, the last of which is considered to be analogous to religious conversion (Snow 1986:467-473). This model is interesting in relation to my research in that transformative frame alignment is thought to depend on changing the key metaphors by which an individual perceives or frames their reality. Furseth states that 'processes of frame alignment took place in the Hauge movement' but does not describe the process in any detail (Furseth 2002:390). If Hauge's texts can be shown to facilitate a transformative frame shift in the receiver by their use of language – particularly through a shift in emphasis on

various metaphors or an activation of new metaphors - this may partially contribute to explaining how Hauge's message acted to produce change in the life of the receiver. This idea relates to prophetic imagination in that 'the reactivation of dormant cultural symbols' crucial to the functioning of prophetic imagination could be considered analogous to the adoption of a new key metaphor or interpretive frame by which the individual now views reality (Brueggemann 2001:35).

2.3.6 Project: '*Norsk sakprosa*'

In the 1990s, a new branch of Hauge research appeared as part of a Norwegian project commissioned to make an in-depth study of non-fiction writing in the history of Norwegian literature. The result of the University of Oslo-based research project *Norsk sakprosa* (1992-1997) was the two volume publication *Norsk litteraturhistorie: Sakprosa fra 1750 til 1995* (Johnsen and Eriksen 1998). The influence of the project can be seen in the proliferation of titles published in this field by scholars including Amundsen (1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1997, 1999), Berge (1992, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c, 1999), Fet (1995, 1998), Grepstad (1997), Gundersen (1997, 1998a, 1998b, 2001, 2003) and Guttormsson (1990).

As a result of the project *Sakprosa*, Hauge's texts were categorised as *sakprosa* that belonged to the genre of '*religiøse forkynnings- og oppbyggelsesskrifter*' (Grepstad 1997:353), and the Hans Nielsen Hauge publishing phenomenon was suddenly recognised as having played a key part in the development of pre-modern Norwegian non-fiction into the fixed genres of the public arena (*borgelig offentlighet*) in nineteenth century Norway (Berge 1998c). Two scholars in particular focussed on Hauge's texts. Amundsen examined Hauge's discourse from the standpoint of having its roots in Norway's apocalyptic visionary tradition (see Chapters 1 and 5), but it was Gundersen's monograph that provided a first close reading of Hauge's early texts with the intention of understanding the inner workings of Hauge's discourse (Gundersen 2001).

2.3.7 '*Om å ta Ordet*'

In his monograph, *Om å ta Ordet: Retorikk og utsigelse i den unge Hans Nielsen Hages forfatterskap*, Gundersen sets out to demonstrate how Hauge '*tar i bruk*

bibelteksten og 16- og 1700-tallets religiøse litteratur i sin egen "eenfoldige" utsigelse, og skaper et forkynnende språk med unik gjennomslagskraft (Gundersen 2001: backcover). His approach reflects the project *Norsk sakprosa*'s emphasis on non-fiction as functional communication (Johnsen & Eriksen 1998:23) and its understanding that '*sjangerbegrep og sjangerteori er en forutsetning for å skrive begripelig om sakprosa i et gitt tidsrom*' (p.24). As Classical rhetoric formed the foundational educational tradition in Hauge's historical context (Meldahl 1998) Gundersen uses this as a formal apparatus with which to analyse Hauge's early texts. He does admit, however, that Hauge's lack of formal education and social standing, i.e. his lack of exposure to the inculcation of the norms of Classical rhetoric, makes this approach somewhat questionable (Gundersen 2001:24).

Gundersen's study also draws on various aspects of modern linguistic theory. In this respect, his monograph reflects one contemporary Norwegian approach to '*tekstvitenskap*' in which '*retorikken er [forstått som] et slags redskap for en kulturkritisk virksomhet med en slags avsløringsideologi som grunnleggende erkjennelsesinteresse. Man opplever seg da i varierende grad forpliktet på den retoriske tradisjonen, men plukker fritt fra filosofiens, lingvistikkens, antropologiens etc. erkjennelsesreservoar...*' (Berge 1998a:72). Thus Gundersen's study is informed by Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, Longinus' essay *On the Sublime* (Longinus 1934), Benveniste's theory of subjectivity and his conception of 'utterance' as an 'appropriation' of language (Benveniste 1971), de Certeau's ideas of utterance being not only an 'appropriation' of language by the speaker but a 'modification' (de Certeau 1990), Searle's essay on speech acts and the philosophy of language (Searle 1969), Max Weber's theory of legitimate domination (Weber 1978), and Burke's historical study of pre-modern European popular culture (Burke 1994).

Gundersen's study falls into four sections. The first uses the rhetorical concept of the '*captatio benevolentiae*' as a heading under which to examine how, through the *Fortale to Verdens Daarlighed* (1796), Hauge introduced himself to the public, legitimised his speech and created a readership despite the fact he was appropriating a genre of writing normally only used by the officials of the

religious hegemony. Gundersen stresses that the subversive nature of Hauge's writing lies in the fact he managed to turn the language of the hegemonic culture against itself while modifying it to serve his own intentions (Gundersen 2001:38ff).

Gundersen then goes on to examine the issues relating to the central moments in Hauge's utterance ('*utsigelsesarbeid*') (p.40) in three sections, each bearing as a title one of the three means of proof espoused by Aristotelian rhetoric: *logos*, *ethos* and *pathos*. Under the heading 'Logos' Gundersen examines the content of Hauge's first four texts in order to map the contemporary speech genres Hauge appropriated and how these determined the form taken by Hauge's discourse (p.40, 63ff). This section draws heavily on Burke (1994), Berge (1992, 1998b, 1998c), Fet (1995) and Amundsen (1995a, 1995b) to examine the tension between the popular literary culture to which Gundersen considers Hauge to have belonged and the literature of the hegemonic culture, and discusses the implications of religious language for enabling those with no authority to produce a political pamphlet within the confines of official censorship (p.64-70).

The second section, 'Ethos', focuses on Hauge's means of legitimating himself as an author in a literary arena where he had no authority to speak. Gundersen applies aspects of the linguistic theories of Benveniste (1971) and de Certeau (1990) to elucidate Hauge's '*innskriving av sitt eget "jeg" i tekstene sine*' (p.41). Gundersen demonstrates how Hauge authorises his '*jeg*' by referring to the opening lines of the preface (*Til Læseren*) of *En Sandheds Bekiendelse* (Skr. II 33-34). Here Hauge uses a sequence of expressions which moves through five time shifts from biblical time to the present, permitting '*teksten å forflytte seg fra Kristi singulære frelsesgjerning fram til samtidas og forkynnelsens rike allmennhet*' (p.104). Gundersen emphasises these temporal movements in Hauge's early texts with another example in which the progression of Hauge's use of pronouns permits movement from 'historical time' to 'didactic time' (Skr. I 76-77), arguing that this has the effect of presenting Hauge's '*jeg*' as having biblical authority (p.108). Gundersen describes this temporal progress as one that moves '*fra historie til diskurs*', or from the objective authority of the biblical text to the created subjectivity of Hauge's own utterance, and sees it as

the essence of the act of linguistic appropriation that gives Hauge's discourse authority in its own context (p.111).

Gundersen's observations are interesting in relation to my observation of Hauge's use of a 'prophetic' or 'charismatic' hermeneutic which allows him to fuse the two horizons of the past (biblical) text and the present context to produce a fresh message from God for the current moment, i.e. to prophesy. Although Gundersen points out that Hauge '*inviterer bibelhistorien til et spill med analogier*', as does this particular prophetic hermeneutic, Gundersen understands this '*spill med analogier*' as a way in which Hauge authorises the 'jeg' in his texts by aligning what he has written with the accepted authority of the Bible (p.97). The use of a prophetic or charismatic hermeneutic is subtly different to this understanding in that it functions to authorise a new meaning from an old text in a present context, but in the process of this particular '*spill med analogier*' the prophet's 'jeg' vanishes to leave only a fresh message from the divine being, who is presented as the ultimate 'I am'.

Gundersen describes the third section of his study, 'Pathos', as an analysis of what has been '*det mest sentrale poenget i den tradisjonelle forståelsen av Hauges forkynnelse ...den inderlige religiøse følelse en pleier å tilskrive både tekstene og talen hans ... som samtidig oppstilles som forklaringen på tilhørernes sterke reaksjoner på forkynnelsen*' (p.41). It is this section that comes closest to trying to answer my own research question as to what was it about Hauge's message that caused its transformative effect on the receptive receiver. Gundersen uses this section to analyse how Hauge's appropriation of the hegemonic religious language and his procedures for legitimating his speech are expressed in the style of his early texts (p.41). He takes his starting point in Hauge's conversion narrative and links Hauge's expression '*da blev min Sind saa opløftet til Gud ...jeg var uden mig selv*' (Skr. VI, 126, my emphases) with Longinus' portrayal of the sublime ('*det opphøyede*') as being the highest form of rhetorical style which has the power to move as opposed to merely inform the listener – a style which '*river os ud af os selv*' (p.145, Longinus, I 3-4).

Gundersen draws a comparison between Longinus' notion of sublime rhetoric being dependent on '*talens vævning*' (*hypsos*) and Hauge's use of the rhetorical figures *amplificatio*, i.e. creating emphasis by expansion on a concept from various angles often using figurative language, and *congeries*, i.e. creating emphasis by the heaping up of ideas in quick succession (p.144-153). Gundersen's argument is that Hauge's tendency to use word association and his inclination to leap from one biblical reference to another in quick succession provides a stylistic function by which '*bibelsk storhet skal overvelde læseren*' (p.146, pp.149-150). For Gundersen, the pathos of Hauge's discourse is thus located in the shock created by the sublime, i.e. '*i kontrasten mellom den esoteriske skriften og den enkle "Slagter og Bonde-Søn" som skriver*' (p.150).

Gundersen finishes his third section by describing his analysis of Hauge's early texts as having provided a closer examination of the 'machinery' of Hauge's rhetoric: his *logos*, *ethos* and *pathos* (p.153-155). He points out that when considered merely as machinery, Hauge's rhetoric is, as the enlightened critics of Hauge's day stated, '*uden al logisk Orden ... et slæbende Foredrag*' (p. 155, Müller 1807). At this point Gundersen adds that Hauge's rhetorical ability, his *pathos*, can be considered as having '*en spesiell betoning*' (p.152). Referring to Hauge's words in *EL-Tillæg*, '*der er hans Aand, der haver forklaret Ordet*' (Skr. II 76), Gundersen states that '*det er Åndens lærdom som utgjør [Hauges] spesiell [retorisk] kompetans ... bare i kraft av denne åndfulle kunnskapen kan Hauge's resitasjoner få en effekt som er "de Onde til Skræk, og de Gode til Troens Bestyrkelse"*' (p.153). If the linguistic structures of Hauge's rhetoric are the machine, then Gundersen presents the Holy Spirit as '*ånden i maskinen*' or the proverbial *deus ex machina* (p.154).

Gundersen concludes that it is this *deus ex machina* or '*Åndens Styrelse som har bragt Hauge til Ordet: der har den latt ham forstå -- og tale . Det er den bevegelsen som framstilles i teksten hans*' (p.154). In this respect Hauge's prayer for '*Aandens oplysning*' is '*en nøkkel til tekstens apparatur*' (p.155). Despite these observations, Gundersen prefers to consider the pathos provided by Hauge's '*andsoplysning*' as a linguistic aspect of Hauge's discourse as opposed to an experiential phenomenon; i.e. the religious language to which Hauge has

resorted for his pathos is no more than the linguistic reflection of the mythological reality he inhabits. Although Gundersen would seem to prefer to understand Hauge's '*åndsoplysning*' as a linguistic feature ('*et språklig trekk*') of his rhetoric (p.156), he makes three observations which provide sufficient grounds to consider an investigation of Hauge's early texts as Spirit inspired speech / prophecy worthwhile: a) that Hauge's texts have a prophetic register (p.83), b) that Hauge's quotation of the Bible '*lar ham profetere*' (p.140 and p.136), and c) that '*Åndens styrelse er den bevegelsen som framstilles i hans tekst*' (p.154).

Gundersen is currently working on a thesis entitled "*Hans Nielsen Hauge og 1700-tallets folkelige litterære kultur*" under the supervision of Kjell Lars Berge at the *Institutt for Nordistikk og Litteraturvitenskap* at the University of Oslo. His research project is '*et forsøk på en tekst- og lesehistorisk studie av Hans Nielsen Huges tidlige forfatterskap, med vekt på Huges plassering i forhold til den dansk-norske kulturens etablerte tekstunivers*' (Gundersen 2004). Gundersen's present investigations do not coincide with my examination of Hauge's early texts as prophecy (personal communication), although a recent article does include some reflections on Hauge's use of autobiography as a means of legitimating his function as an author (Gundersen 2005). As a basis for this recent proposal, Gundersen has used current research on the way Puritan conversion narratives are thought to legitimate the speech of the author by portraying the validity of the spiritual change they had experienced through their writing. This has a tenuous connection with my identification of prophetic legitimization devices in Hauge's texts, especially Hauge's use of the OT prophetic conversion narrative form, which I find a more convincing means of demonstrating how Hauge legitimated his prophetic speech (see Chapter 3).

2.4 'Mind the gap'

From this brief survey of two hundred years of literature it can be concluded that, although there are passing mentions to Hauge having been a prophet (e.g. Bang 1907a, Hallesby 1928:40) or having made prophetic statements (e.g.

Grendahl 1849:10), there has yet been no in depth study of Hauge as a prophet and his message as prophecy.

Current interest in Hauge's texts in the field of reception studies has yet to produce a comprehensive explanation that provides an answer to the question as to what it was about Hauge's message that caused it to have a transformative effect. If, as Gundersen has stated, Hauge's answered prayer for '*Aandens Lærdom*' is '*nøkkelen til [Hauge-] tekstens apparatur*' (Gundersen 2001:155), and, as he has also stated, there is a '*mangel på et presist teoretisk begrepsapparat*' in political and social theory which can explain how Hauge's early texts function (p.166), it seems appropriate to use a paradigm describing the function of prophecy to demonstrate how Hauge's texts work, however unconventional such an approach may be perceived. As Amundsen has suggested: '*En rekke sider ved Hauges tenkning og virksomhet kan (altså) forstås ved hjelp av alternative tolkningsrammer – i hovedsak ved å frikoble tolkningen fra et dogmatisk eller ideologisk grep og plassere ham i kontekster og tradisjoner som er teologisk og konfesjonelt problematisk eller underkommuniserte. Men fortsatt er det samtidig slik at Hans Nielsen Hauge har mange ansikter, likesom hans tekster og hans retorikk har det*' (Amundsen 2001:40, my emphasis).

3. Brief outline of the research project

In this introductory chapter, I have presented my basic research question - 'What was it about Hauge's message that caused it to have a transformative effect?' I have outlined Hauge's life and reviewed the literature illustrating the main trends in Hauge research to date. The literature review focussed particularly on Gundersen's dissertation (2001) as comments in his concluding chapter prompted the idea that the transformative effect in Hauge's early texts could best be explained by considering the texts as prophecy and Hauge as a prophet.

Chapter 1 presents the background work for this project, and provided an opportunity to investigate and draw together the various conceptualisations of Hauge as prophet scattered throughout literature, none of which have previously

been clarified to any particular depth. This chapter also presents a discussion of how these diverse perspectives relate to the fundamental working definition of prophecy used in this thesis (see Chapter 1, Section 1) and to the use of Brueggemann's prophetic imagination as an analytical paradigm.

A critical factor in the success of such an investigation was to find a suitable model with which to approach Hauge's early texts as prophecy. Walter Brueggemann's theological paradigm 'prophetic imagination' was chosen as a suitable model principally for its emphasis on the ability of prophetic speech to generate 'an alternative consciousness' and thus 'speak new futures into being' (Brueggemann 2000:x), but also because Gundersen has pointed out that current political and sociological theory provide no adequate tools with which to explain the effect that Hauge's early writings had on their receivers. A detailed explanation of the concepts that make up the paradigm of prophetic imagination is presented in Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 addresses the question as to how Hauge's early texts can be categorised as prophecy (as a whole or in part) by identifying and describing various 'framing devices' which indicate the presence of prophetic speech in written text. This is followed by a discussion of what the varying use of these devices in Hauge's early texts tell us about the way he legitimated his prophetic speech and the development of his prophetic consciousness over the first five years of his ministry.

Having determined a means of identifying specific prophetic utterances in Hauge's early texts, Chapter 4 describes the specific forms of prophetic speech found in these texts and discusses how these forms relate to the criticising and energising functions inherent to prophetic imagination described in Chapter 2.

The examination of the major forms of prophetic speech used by Hauge necessitates a closer look at his use of the apocalyptic prophetic genre. Chapter 5

describes Hauge's insight into the major apocalyptic passages of the Bible, providing a hitherto undisclosed standpoint from which to understand his particular worldview and the idiosyncratic influence this had on the content and style of his writing.

Chapter 6 discusses the problems inherent in using the criticising and energising forms of prophetic speech found in Hauge's early texts as source material for the identification of the reactivated cultural symbols key to the inner functioning of his prophetic imagination (see Chapter 2). By supplementing the basic concepts of prophetic imagination with Wright's 'worldview schema', an examination of the criticising prophetic narratives of Hauge's prophetic speech permits the identification of key symbols in the hegemonic culture which are dismantled by the criticising aspect of Hauge's prophetic imagination.

Chapter 7 continues the examination of narrative in Hauge's prophetic speech by analysing the narratives inherent in various energising prophetic utterances in order to identify the key symbols generated by the energising aspect of his prophetic imagination. When examined through the lens of Hauge's idiosyncratic worldview (see Chapters 5 and 6), a comparison of the symbols of the dominant worldview which are dismantled by his prophetic criticism (see Chapter 6) with the symbols of the alternative worldview which are generated by his prophetic energising permits novel insight into the inner workings of the transformative frame shift occasioned by his prophetic imagination. The chapter ends with discussion of how this altered frame of perception is amplified by Hauge's use of the apocalyptic genre, and how the evocation of the notion of 'a prophethood of all believers' relates to the genesis of '*misjonstanken*' in early Haugian ideology.

Chapter 1: Conceptualisations of Hauge the prophet

1. Defining prophecy

If Hauge is to be examined as a prophet, then the understanding of the terms ‘prophecy’ and ‘prophet’ as used in this thesis need to be made clear from the outset. These terms have many meanings depending on the context in which they are used (Taithe and Thornton 1997:1), but prophecy is commonly understood to be the prediction of the future and a prophet as the person who makes such a prediction (Barnes 1988:13).

In Hauge’s context, the understanding of prophecy as predicting the future was denoted by the noun ‘*spaadom*’ (verb form: ‘*spaa*’), and this term was used to describe prediction by both ordinary individuals and biblical prophets:

‘Lendsmanden paa Byenæsset ... beordrede 2 Mand til Vagt og fulgte ogsaa selv med til Trondhjem; nu spaade man, at jeg skulde for Levetid hensættes paa Munkholmen’

(Skr. VI 27, 9-12) ¹

‘Daniel (som og) spaar mangt, der ikke troes eller bliver opfyldt; men jeg kan af egen erfaring og som han med flere [der] bekiender om sin Henrykkelse, begribe noget, Dan. 10C.’

(Skr. V 56, 13-15) ²

These two usages of ‘*spaa*’ are a useful means of isolating what is meant by ‘prophecy’ and ‘prophet’ in this thesis; definitions which depend on a critical distinction between ‘divination’ and ‘prophecy’.

Divination is the art of acquiring secret knowledge, especially knowledge pertaining to the future and has two forms (Stibbe 2004:123). The first form,

¹ See also *Skr.* VI 41, 1-7

² See also *Skr.* V, 56

natural divination, involves the interpretation of signs and is a learned skill. This is exemplified by the guards who escorted Hauge to Trondheim; they ‘divined’ from the facts available to their rational senses (*‘nu spaade man’*) that he was likely to be incarcerated on the penal island of Munkholm. Today, this form of divination would include such things as forecasting crop yields or the weather, besides common everyday reasonable guesses (Taithe and Thornton 1997:1).

The second form of divination occurs by supernatural means. This involves the consultation of supernatural forces, usually through means of a trance, an ecstasy or a vision, and includes the consultation of supernatural forces as a means of interpreting coded signs as in horoscopy, geomancy and cartomancy.³ Some academics would include these ‘arts’ in the category of natural divination (Aune 1983:23). I have designated them as supernatural, as the reading of these signs usually includes the invocation of a supernatural power.

Supernatural divination, in its broadest academic sense, is exemplified by the second usage of *‘spaa’* given above (Aune 1983:339). Here the prophet Daniel, inspired by a supernatural force (God), foretells future events (*‘Daniel... spaar mangt’*). Technically, Daniel is exercising supernatural divination in the sense that a prophet is a person considered to be inspired by a supernatural power and who acts as ‘an interpreter, proclaimer, spokesman, especially of the will of the [inspiring] deity’ (OED, p.642). However, it needs to be made clear that in this thesis a prophet is understood as an individual inspired by no other supernatural force than the Holy Spirit, and as one who proclaims an ‘intelligible verbal message believed to originate with God’(Aune 1983:339). Christian prophecy is thus understood to be totally separate from other forms of supernatural divination which are technically described as ‘prophecy’ in sociological texts (Weber 1963:46) or historical surveys in comparative religion (Aune 1983:23ff).

It is important to note that although inspiration by the Holy Spirit is the key factor in defining the revelation from God that is mediated by Christian

³ Supernatural divination is akin to the mantic prophecy of the Graeco-Roman world, which has its own subdivided hierarchy of prophetic types (Aune 1983:23).

prophecy, the additional factor of proclamation is required for prophecy to occur. A message revealed to an individual by the inspiration of the Spirit but unaccompanied by spoken or written proclamation is not considered to be Christian prophecy, and vice versa (Grudem 2000:123). It is also important to note that the revelation that comes to a Christian prophet is considered to present God's perspective in particular, as opposed to 'any kind of magical disclosure or mysterious insight' (Grudem 2000:99).

Understanding prophecy as the divine inspiration of the individual and a prophet as a spokesperson for God means that our approach to considering Hauge as prophet and his message as prophecy moves beyond the demythologised position of contemporary sociology in which prophecy is depicted as a derivative phenomenon by which individuals interpret and communicate facets of their perceived reality (James 1981, Lanternari 1965, Weber 1963).⁴ The subjective nature of divine inspiration means that the ultimate proof of the phenomenon cannot be demonstrated, even though the inspired individual may display physical phenomena understood to indicate an inspired state. A limitation of this study is thus that divine inspiration or prophecy in Hauge can only be assumed in as far as Hauge records this as his considered experience. However, it is not essential that the religious validity of Hauge's experience is established; recent research into the effect of religious experiences on the construction of the reality of an individual or of a group states that in instances such as our study 'all that is necessary is for us to recognise ... the demonstrable *efficacy* of such experiences in generating significant innovations in various religious traditions' (Hurtado 2005:65). The effectiveness of Hauge's religious experience in 'generating innovation' is self-evident in the number of publications that document the impact he is considered to have made on Norwegian society (e.g. Magnus 1978).

⁴ For a critique of the sociological views of religious experiences, see Stark (1991)

2. Conceptualisations of Hauge the prophet

Despite the ‘innovative efficacy’ of Hauge’s message, references in the literature to him as a prophet and his message as prophecy are infrequent. Nevertheless, an examination of these instances is a helpful means of refining the use of the terms prophecy and prophet as used in this thesis, and acts to demonstrate how this study relates to the current state of Hauge research.

2.1 Hauge the foreteller of the future

The general understanding of prophecy, as mentioned in Section 1, is the prediction of the future, and is more properly described as an ‘oracle’. Bang is the only one of Hauge’s commentators to state explicitly that Hauge predicted the future and that this prediction was fulfilled. Bang’s comments below refer to Hauge’s ‘prediction’ in *BVD-3* (1796):

‘I 3die Kapitel ... viser [Hauge], hvorledes Herrens Straffedomme forestaaer af det store Frafald fra ham. ... Det er med et profetisk Syn, at Hauge kaster blikket ud over Samtid og Fremtid. At han saa klart, viser Historiens følgende Begivenheder tydelig nok. De voldsomme Rystninger i Europa ved den franske Revolution og de Napoleonske Krige, Danmarks Fornedrelse, Hungersaaret 1812 o.s.v., o.s.v., hvad Andet skal vel alt Saadant kaldes, end “den langmodige Rettfærdigheds Slag”, naar det opfattes i det profetiske Ords Lys.’

(Bang 1910:55)

In the Old Testament (OT) the fulfilment of a prediction was one of the ways of validating the legitimacy of the prophet (Aune 1983:87). Perhaps Bang’s presentation of this ‘fulfilment’ of Hauge’s ‘prediction’ is an indirect means of legitimating the inspired nature of Hauge’s speech beyond this prediction itself. However, in the light of the content of Hauge’s writing in its entirety, it is questionable as to whether Hauge considered God’s ‘*langmodige Rettfærdigheds Slag*’ as an interim act of judgement in Norway’s immediate future as opposed to it being part of his apocalyptic understanding of God’s final cataclysmic intervention in the history of mankind (see Chapter 5).

2.2 Hauge the popular apocalyptic visionary

The most recent consideration of Hauge as a prophet has been undertaken in the field of cultural studies by Amundsen. He has examined Hauge in the light of popular apocalyptic prophets who, over the centuries, brought visions, predictions and warnings of an apocalyptic nature to the highly superstitious common masses (Amundsen 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1999, 2001:31).

Amundsen places popular apocalyptic visionaries and Hauge in the same category because he considers that both belonged to marginalised social groups (Amundsen 1999:53), i.e. neither had any official legitimation to proclaim a message in public and therefore required the use of an authoritative form of speech to communicate their social protest (Amundsen 1994). Considering Karen Brynhildsdatter's 1721 vision, and Hauge's 1796 usage, it is clear both used '*et ganske stereotyp tegnsystem i forhold til å tolke historien, samtiden og fremtiden*' (Amundsen 1999:55). Karen's angelic messenger proclaimed the words '*Gud i himmelen viser menneskene så mange tegn, med hunger, dyrtid, krig og orlog. Likevel omvender de seg ikke*' (Amundsen 1999:49). This bears close similarity to Hauge's '*Naar Gud seer Ondskaben bliver saa stoer, at der er faae og næsten ingen gode Dyder, eller Lyst til Gud og hans Villie igjen, saa kan han ikke længer taale det, men maa slaa til med Ildebrand, Hunger, Pest [og Krig] etc.*' (Skr. I 86, 4-7) and '*Guds Aand revser Mennesket saa længe det er her i Livet, med Sygdøm, Ildebrand, Krig, Hunger, Samvittigheds Ængstelse m. m.*' (Skr. I 182, 5-7).

Such lists of catastrophes were not only enshrined in the subconsciousness of pre-modern popular culture as a result of generations of superstitious belief regarding manifestations of divine judgement, but were also found in Pontoppidan's *Forklaring*, an explanation of Luther's catechism which formed a major part of the ideological basis of eighteenth-century Norwegian culture. In this text God's punishment was depicted as being of three kinds, the first of which was '*Den legemlige, saasom Krig, Dyrtid, Pest eller anden Ulykke i Landet og Huset*' (Pontoppidan 1854:63). Thus Hauge and popular apocalyptic visionaries can both be considered as coming from a common cultural milieu,

yet despite this, the differences between Hauge and popular apocalyptic visionaries are significant. Popular apocalyptic visionaries usually reported vision experiences which were legitimated by bodily manifestations of divine possession (Beyer 1991). These visions involved the mediation of a message from God by an angelic figure and required the recipient to report the message to the local priest for validation and subsequent presentation to the local population. Patronage was often extended by rich individuals in the community who had the means to disseminate the vision beyond the locality in printed form, and, notably, the majority of recorded visions were received by women (Amundsen 1999).

In Hauge's case we find no emphasis given to a visionary experience in order to gain sensationalist attention for his message; in fact, Hauge did not describe the mystical nature of his experience fully and directly until twenty years after it occurred (*Skr.* VI 126, 20ff). In his early texts, Hauge does not record any physical manifestations accompanying his experience, although he later described himself as too preoccupied to eat for several weeks *after* the event (*Skr.* VI 130, 26-30). This however does not appear to be a means of legitimating a divine revelation as much as a factual report of events as Hauge remembered them. Although Hauge stated that God sometimes used angels as intermediaries to bring his message to mankind (*Skr.* I 158, 5-10) there is no implication anywhere in his writings that his 1796 experience involved an angelic visitation. Unlike popular visionaries, Hauge did not use a priest or other patron to legitimate and mediate his message; his legitimation rested in his perceived calling from God, and he disseminated the message himself, both orally and in print.

Apart from these differences between Hauge and the popular visionaries described by Amundsen, another significant difference is found in Amundsen's comment that, up to and including the eighteenth century, apocalyptic visionaries tended to emerge in '*folkelige miljøer*', whereas in the nineteenth century the locus shifted to '*religiøse grupper*' and '*folkelige vekkelser*' (Amundsen 1999:56, 1995a:44). The former tended to interpret 'common everyday life in local communities' whereas the latter 'interpreted the every day

life of religious counter-culture' (Amundsen 1994:16). Thus two problems present themselves if Hauge is categorised as one of Amundsen's popular apocalyptic visionaries. Firstly, Hauge is probably best viewed as having emerged as a prophet in a '*folkelig miljø*' and who moved into being a prophet in the counter culture of '*religiøse vekkelser*' rather than belonging consistently to one context or the other. Secondly, popular apocalyptic visionaries by definition receive only direct revelation from God in the form of visions despite the fact their message may be coded in language derived from the biblical text. Assuming direct revelation is only one aspect of Hauge's prophetic activity, classing him as a popular apocalyptic visionary presents only a part of what must be considered a broader picture. Despite the difficulties of locating Hauge's texts at a specific juncture within a genre that was demonstrating rapid evolution, Amundsen has opened the apocalyptic aspects of Hauge's message to debate, whereas these were previously neglected (see Chapter 5).

2.3 Hauge the charismatic leader

Hauge's role as a prophet may be considered from a sociological perspective using the ideas of Max Weber. Weber defines a prophet as 'a purely individual *bearer of charisma*, who by virtue of his mission proclaims a religious doctrine or divine commandment' (Weber 1963:46, my italics). This definition from *The Sociology of Religion* is not concerned with the prophet as a 'renewer' or a 'founder of religion'; but with distinguishing 'prophet' from 'priest'. The priest 'lays claim to authority by virtue of his service in a sacred tradition', whereas a prophet claims his authority based on 'personal revelation and charisma' (p.46). It therefore does not take much imagination to cast Hauge as a prophet in Weber's terms, as Hauge himself clearly documents his dissatisfaction with the lifestyle and teaching of the official priests of his time. Weber's ideas have thus been used to define Hauge as a prophet in the sense of him falling into the category of 'charismatic leader' (Gilje 1994).

Besides mentioning charisma in his definition of 'prophet', Weber also discusses charisma or 'charismatic authority' in *Economy and Society* (1978:241-254). He describes charisma as having 'tremendous revolutionary impact in economic

respects' (p. 254) and states that charisma 'may result in a radical alteration of the central attitudes and directions of action with a completely new orientation of attitudes toward the different problems of the "world"' (p.245). Hauge's economic activity in the years 1800-1804 has been well documented (Breistein 1955), and Weber's *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* forms the basis of much of the literature examining Hauge's entrepreneurial activities and its connection to the rise of capitalism in early nineteenth century Norway (Jonassen 1947, Magnus 1978, Strandbakken 1987, Sejersted 1993, Gilje 1994). Gilje, however, is alone in using the broad spread of Weber's ideas to propose Hauge's perceived charisma as a revolutionary force both in respect to economic growth and as the bearer of a message (Gilje 1996).

The message that Gilje focuses on is not however the message of repentance usually seen as key to the role of a prophet. Gilje points out that it was the aspects of '*kjærlighetskommunisme*' and '*brorskapsetikk*' (p.25) in Hauge's message that caused a 'radical alteration of central attitudes' and influenced the growth of capitalism in the Haugian network. Gilje also stresses that this charismatic message acted in synergy with a charismatic authority present in Hauge that required the submission of a group of followers to a leader. Gilje thus identifies in Hauge two sub-types of Weber's idea of charismatic authority defined as 'magical charisma', i.e. a magnetic personality, and 'prophetic charisma', i.e. a message that alters the hearer (Poloma 1989:88-89). Gilje quotes eye witness descriptions of Hauge's personality as proof of the appropriateness of designating Hauge as having a magnetic personality (1996:23), but he makes no attempt to explain Hauge's 'prophetic charisma' beyond the boundaries of the economic arena, nor to explain how the role of personal revelation in this type of charisma operates to achieve change in the receiver.

Attributing Hauge with the quality of 'magical charisma' refers more to the receiver's perception of his personality and spoken words in actually meeting with him than their reception of his written words in the form of his books. It is probable that many people's first meeting with Hauge was not in person but through his texts, whose style is anything but 'magically charismatic'

(Gundersen 2001:13-14). On the other hand, Hauge's texts contain all that remains of his 'prophetic charisma' - a message that had power to initiate change at the level of the individual (Clements 1997:96), and 'the extraordinary power to convey that message' (Althouse 2004:109). Thus, although using Weber's notion of charisma presents an interesting means of viewing Hauge as prophet, it is not a concept that provides a satisfactory means of explaining how Hauge's texts worked to change the receiver. This dissatisfaction arises from the fundamental difference between the understanding of charisma in the Weberan sense and the New Testament (NT) sense. Weber's understanding is naturalistic in that it seeks to attribute the power of an individual's charisma to inherent personality traits. In the NT, 'charisma' is 'a grace gift of the Spirit', the greatest expression of which is prophecy (1 Cor. 14:1); the power inherent in a charismatic individual is attributed to the indwelling of the Spirit, and their message to divine inspiration. Despite this tension in the differences between the Weberan (naturalistic) and NT (numinous) understanding of charisma, the synergistic combination of a message and the power to convey that message which constitutes Weber's 'prophetic charisma' is reminiscent of the combination of 'Word' (message) and 'Spirit' (power) identified in Hauge's writing by Ording (1947:52-53). It is here that this thesis finds albeit tenuous common ground with Weber's notion of charisma.

2.4 Hauge the proclaimer of the gospel

Prophecy is understood in parts of the Protestant Tradition as preaching or proclamation. This is the most common perception of Hauge as prophet in the literature, but is more representative of popular rather than academic publications.

The first example of this understanding of Hauge's prophetic role as a preacher of the gospel is found in a transcript of the *Minnetale* given by Bishop Anton Bang on the centenary of Hauge's conversion:

'Hans [Hauges] Opgave er ikke at skabe noget nyt, hans Opgave er ikke at reformere hverken Kirkens Lærer eller Kirkens Forfatning ...

*Den Opgave, han ved Gjennombruddet den 5te April blev sig bevidst at have faaet, det var denne: I Følelsen og Forstaaelsen af vort Folks og vor Kirkes store aandelige Nød at prædike Omvendelse for alle dem, der vilde lade sig omvende fra Mørket til Lyset; **det var den profetiske Vækkelsespræken, der var Hauges Opgave.***

(Bang 1907a:24-25)

This statement clearly disregards the reformatory role of prophecy or the prophet's function of speaking new worlds into being (Brueggemann 2001:xxiii); here prophecy is understood basically as the proclamation of salvation and Hauge's legitimation to speak is provided by an appeal to 'nødsprinsippet' (Kullerud 1996:177).

A further example of this understanding of Hauge's prophetic role as preacher can be found in Ole Hallesby's *Fra Arbeidsmarken* (1928:40):

'Til Norge har Herren aldrig sendt nogen profet større end Hans Nielsen Hauge. Det budskap han hadde faat (sic) fra Gud til det norske folk, fik han bære frem praktisk talt over hele landet. Og da det var gjort, fik han lide for den sandhet, han var sendt for at forkynde - som enhver sand og stor profet.'

In this statement about Hauge's prophetic role Hallesby's focus is on Hauge's preaching. He appears to take for granted that Hauge received his message from God and sees Hauge's suffering as a legitimation of his prophetic calling (c.f. Aune 1983:157). As with Bang, Hallesby envisaged Hauge's role as a prophet in terms of his being a revivalist preacher and, correspondingly, his message as a call to repentance, but, as with our understanding of a prophet, a key characteristic was the perception of Hauge as a man filled with and inspired by the Holy Spirit:

*'Hauge var vækkerrøsten. Det var hans egentlige profetgjerning ... han var den **aandfylde** vækkerrøst'*

(Hallesby 1928:40, original emphasis).

More recently the same understanding of Hauge's prophetic task has been expressed by Ravnåsen, who makes indirect reference to '*nødsprinsippet*' as the legitimation for Hauge's calling from God to preach:

'Herren selv hadd gitt [Hauge] beskjed om at han skulle forkynne. Han skulle være Guds herold i en tid da de geistlige hadde eneretten til å forkynne Guds ord'

(Ravnåsen 2002:46)

'Uansett kirkeordning ville Hauge ha sørget for livsrom for en vekkende og bibeltro forkynnelse som kunne fungere som en profetisk røst i samtiden og kalle den enkelte til å leve ut sitt kall i tjeneste for gud og mennesker'

(Ravnåsen 2002:181)

The common depiction of Hauge's prophetic role as being that of a preacher or proclaimer of the gospel is a consequence of the fact that he lived and wrote in a Lutheran environment and that most of the studies examining his life, work and beliefs have emerged from a similar Lutheran context, whether in Norway or North America.

3. Contextual perspectives on prophecy

If we want to expand our understanding of the task of prophets and prophecy beyond that of the oracle, the popular visionary or the revivalist preacher it is helpful to free ourselves from these 'usual stereotypes' (Brueggemann 2001:xxiii). The 'usual stereotype', or contextual perspective, within which most Hauge research has been conducted, is a traditional Lutheran ideological framework that has a particular understanding of prophets and prophecy. This standpoint does not permit the consideration of Hauge as anything more than a revivalist lay-preacher, and, being the prevailing conception of his own time, this understanding also formed one aspect of Hauge's own understanding of prophecy.

If the full extent of the innovation of applying Brueggemann's paradigm to Hauge's texts is to be appreciated, a basic description of the traditional thinking that has led to the current stagnation in the theological understanding of Hauge's prophetic task is in order. Such a depiction is presented in the sections that follow. Understanding this position also provides a baseline against which to evaluate the degree to which Hauge's own beliefs about prophets and prophecy diverged from the commonly accepted norms of his time.

It is worth noting, however, that the reformers of the sixteenth century and the theologians of the following three centuries, are now considered to have had limited insight into understanding the nature of prophecy, and their traditional views have been largely abandoned by modern Lutheran theologians.⁵ Contemporary approaches to prophecy have provoked a re-evaluation of Luther's own subjective spiritual experiences (Hoffman 1976) and prompted discussion of the possibility that God might 'speak' to individuals today (Prenter 1982). It is interesting that many of Hauge's more 'innovative', i.e. untraditional, views on prophecy find correspondence in the ideas expressed by contemporary theologians; in this respect Hauge has been acknowledged as a forerunner of contemporary Charismatic thinking (Halvorsen 1996, Hanssen 2006, personal communication).

3.1 The Word as 'special revelation'

Traditional Lutheran views on prophecy and the role of prophets have their roots in doctrines of theological epistemology that are common to all Christian traditions. In Lutheran thought there is particular emphasis on the teaching that everything God has desired to reveal to mankind about himself and his purpose for the world is contained in the Bible and finds its culmination in the incarnation and work of Jesus Christ (Braaten 1983:3, Johnson 2005:3). This 'special revelation' of God in the Word (the Bible), as opposed to the 'general revelation' of God in the wonders of nature, is also termed 'direct revelation' in the sense that the Bible is considered to be the Word of God inspired directly by

⁵ Email communication from Ove-Conrad Hanssen (Dr. Th.), Misjonhøyskole, Stavanger

the Holy Spirit (Althaus 1963:15, Braaten 1983:2).⁶ Lutheran belief, along with some other Christian traditions, considers that subsequent to the closing of the canon of the Bible the direct revelation of any *new doctrine* from God has ceased; everything that can be, or needs to be known about God has been revealed in God's Word. The Lutheran emphasis is that any revelation from God is now 'indirect' in that it is mediated through the explanation and application of God's written revelation, i.e. through expository preaching (Berends 2004:1).

3.2 Prophecy and 'continuing revelation'

In addition to the general revelation of God in creation and the special revelation of God to the writers of the Bible, theological epistemology recognizes a third form of revelation – 'continuing revelation'. This term is used for any claims a person might make that they have received a message or 'special revelation' directly from God by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit in any period of time after the closing of the canon of Scripture. Post-biblical prophecy, either in verbal or written form, falls into this category.

Continuing revelation, or prophecy, met with increasing suspicion among post-Reformation theologians, largely due to the potential for such 'direct messages from God' to introduce *new doctrine* into the community of believers. The desire to protect believers from potential heresies promulgated by the teaching of visionary fanatics was one reason for the eventual traditional Lutheran emphasis on any direct message from God being dismissed out of hand.

3.3 Word and Spirit

Besides being a direct message from God spoken to the individual, continuing revelation can also be understood as Spirit-inspired interpretations of the Word. In this case the revelation is both 'direct' in the sense the Spirit has revealed something to the prophet, but 'indirect' in the sense that it is mediated by the Word, and as such becomes a hermeneutical problem. Much of the past debate surrounding Hauge's writing centres around his 'misinterpretation' of Scripture, not only in terms of doctrinal emphases, but in relation to his use of a form of

⁶ Althaus prefers to use the terms 'general knowledge' and 'proper knowledge of God' rather than 'general' and 'special revelation'.

prophetic or ‘charismatic’ exegesis that has only recently been recognized as a valid hermeneutical approach to the biblical text and which yet remains an under investigated phenomenon (Zuck 1984, Pinnock 1993, McKay 1994, Stibbe 1998).

The traditional theological context in which Hauge’s use of the Bible has been understood derives from Luther’s understanding of the role of the Holy Spirit in the interpretation of Scripture. Although Luther recognized that the Bible could only be truly understood by the reader through the work of the Holy Spirit (Althaus 1966:76-77, Lohse 1999:237 / *LW* 21:299), he emphasised that ‘the task of the Spirit is to point to Christ’ (Lohse 1999:234) as the revelation of Christ in the Scriptures was essential for a true understanding of the nature of justification by faith (Althaus 1966:79, Lohse 1999:189 / *LW* 33:26). Although Luther did stress the freedom of the Spirit, he gave prominence to relating the work of the Spirit to ‘the external means of Word and Sacrament’ (Althaus 1966:22, Lohse 1999:237), i.e. revelation was ultimately mediated or indirect. This view of Luther’s became particularly prominent after his debate with the fanatics, and his suspicion of continuing revelation is adequately encapsulated by the following:

‘...we must hold firmly to the conviction that God gives no one his Spirit or grace through or without the external Word which comes before. Thus we shall be protected from the enthusiasts – that is, from the spiritualists who boast they possess the Spirit without and before the Word and who therefore judge, interpret, and twist the Scriptures or Spoken Word according to their pleasure.’

Smalcald Articles, Part III, Art.VIII, quoted by Berends (2004:2)

Such comments formed the basis of understanding revelation as a phenomenon mediated purely by the written Word. This perspective became more complex in the period of Orthodox Lutheranism by the insistence of theologians that the Spirit of God was in the Word (*in verbo*), as well as coming to man through it (*per verbo*). Eventually this idea developed into the notion that Spirit was subsumed in the Word, i.e. there was no Word apart from the Spirit, and no Spirit apart from the Word (Berends 2004:2, Lohse 1999:191). Consequently

this strengthened the conviction that there is no revelation from God outside of the Word, leaving no room for a consideration of the freedom of God's Spirit (Berends 2004:2), i.e. interpretive prophecy. The development of this belief produced an increasing unwillingness on the part of clergy and bishops to test the veracity of 'popular' prophecies against the content of Scripture (Beyer 1991). Thus the prophetic vocation of the laity in the Middle Ages was finally discredited (Hvidt 1998) and the role of 'prophet' became synonymous with the preaching task of the clergy.

3.4 Prophecy becomes preaching

In order to understand how prophecy can become synonymous with preaching, ideas of a) the rejection of continuing revelation, b) the view of the Word and the Spirit as inseparable, and c) the consideration of the Spirit as the means of the revelation of Christ in the Word need to be held in conjunction with Luther's teaching that God's Word was originally 'an oral Word, a living proclamation' (Althaus 1966: 72, Lohse 1999:189). Luther was of the opinion that preachers should, like the apostles, be able to 'extract the living Word from the old Scripture and unceasingly inculcate it into the people' (Althaus 1966:73, *LW*, vol. 33, p. 26). This can be understood as the revelatory activity of the Spirit in the study of the Word coming through the Word to the preacher; the preached Word then mediating the Spirit to the receiver as a result of proclamation. The receiver then experiences the transformative power of the Word through the work of the Spirit as it becomes inner knowledge of God. Thus the revelatory aspect of prophecy is encapsulated in the preaching of the Word and leaves no middle ground between the preaching of the clergy and the activity of fanatics and popular visionaries who 'twisted' the Word to suit their own purposes, or who separated revelatory utterance from the mediating function of the Word.

These beliefs explain why Hauge was at pains to support his message with quotations from the Bible, and why he encouraged his readers to test whether what he had written could be found in the Bible (e.g. *Skr.* I 79, 34ff) and made blatant statements as to the primacy of the Word (e.g. *Skr.* I 151, 8ff). Like Luther, Hauge believed that Scripture interpreted itself (Kvammen 1974:38) and he was often at pains to demonstrate how a passage he was expounding related

to other parts of the Bible such that '*alt det vi læser og Skriver maae befæstes med den [Bibelen] i alle Stykker, ellers er det falskt, og heele den hellige Skrift henger sammen som et Kiæde naar det ret udlægges*' (Skr. I 151, 12ff). Thus the academic debate as to whether Hauge received direct revelation from God centres mainly on whether he interpreted the Word by the Spirit 'through the Word' or 'without the Word' (Althaus 1966:77).

It seems to me that Hauge considered that the Spirit had revealed God's message for his situation to him through the enlightened reading of the Word and that he tried to demonstrate this in his writing. This is evidenced by his constant reference to '*Aandens Oplysning*' and to the biblical text itself. However, Hauge's clumsy expression, his overemphasis on the book of James in relation to faith being demonstrated by works, and his fascination with Revelation would not have stood in his favour with Lutheran theologians.⁷ All these issues, plus the unavoidable fact of Hauge's lay status, contributed to his being labelled a '*sværmer*' (fanatic) by officialdom.

3.5 Preaching and calling

Commentators who claim Hauge as a hero of the Lutheran church justify calling him a prophet by focussing on his task as a preacher and the aspects of his message that proclaimed repentance and the need for salvation. In a sense the label of 'preaching prophet' can only be attributed to Hauge by these commentators due to the success of Hauge's preaching seen in terms of the religious revival that followed in its wake. It is this revival that constituted the so-called 'new thing' inherent in the task of Hauge the preaching prophet, thus obviating the difficult issue that prophetic utterance might indeed '*skabe[r] noget nyt*' in socio-political terms; '*reformerer ... Kirkens Lærer eller Kirkens Forfatning*' (Bang 1907a:24); or 'speak new futures into being' (Brueggemann 2001:x). There have been claims that this attitude has contributed to obliterating the radical aspects of Hauge's message, something which would prevent an

⁷ Luther considered these books should not have been included in the canon of Scripture; James, due to its emphasis on law not gospel, and Revelation, as he could find no evidence that it had been inspired by the Holy Spirit (Althaus 1966:82-85).

understanding of the deeper nature of his prophetic task (Kullerud 1996:178, Furre 1999, Amundsen 2001).

As with the issue of Hauge's writings as interpretations of the Word, contentions over whether Hauge was a prophet in the sense that he was a preacher are, however, fraught with debate over his right to speak, i.e. his calling. Despite his lay status, commentators such as Hallesby (1928) are able to accept the notion of Hauge's calling because they belong to the Pietist Lutheran tradition (Skjerve 1981) which emphasises personal experience as one of the grounds for the certainty of theological knowledge (Johnson 2005:5) and thus recognize that a lay person can receive from God an 'extraordinary calling' to preach when the church has become apostate (Berends 2004:5). This view is essentially the '*nødsprinsipp*' (principle of emergency) advocated by the Norwegian theologian-priest Gisle Johnson in the 1850s. Although Johnson recognised that the clergy had the right to the public preaching office, he also accepted that there were not enough priests and that many were not true believers. He thus concluded that lay people who received a direct call from God or support from the believing community could preach God's Word (Welle 1948:221). This is essentially the situation in which Hauge found himself, and thus Bang appropriated the 'emergency principle' in retrospect to justify Hauge's preaching activity:

'Den Opgave, han [Hauge] ved Gjennombruddet den 5te April blev sig bevidst at have faaet, det var denne: i Følelsen og Forstaaelsen af vort Folks og vor Kirkes store aandelige Nød at prædike Omvendelse for alle dem, der vilde lade sig omvende fra Mørket til Lyset; det var denne profetiske Vækkelsespræken, der var Hauges Opgave.'

(Bang 1907a:25).

Despite the contextual clarity of this view, i.e. post-Johnsonian, Hauge himself spoke out at a time when the 'emergency principle' was not a matter for consideration; and perhaps in speaking out he contributed to laying the foundation for the activation of a principle which was subsequently used to justify his action. In Hauge's context the clergy were the only ones considered to have a 'regular' call to preach publicly; theirs was the outer, indirect call which

was considered the norm in the Lutheran tradition.⁸ In contrast to this, Hauge's call was 'an inner, direct call such as God gave to the prophets and the Apostle Paul' (Althaus 1966:329). Although Luther did not dismiss the possibility of a direct call in emergency situations; it could be considered that Hauge's call did not occur in a situation that Luther would have immediately described as such (Althaus 1966:332). However, in Hauge's eyes his was an emergency situation; he perceived that '*Vildfarelser nu ere mange, og vi er omringet med saa mange Ulve*' (Skr. I 76, 27ff) and considered that he had experienced a genuine direct call (e.g. Skr. I 134, 12ff) to point out these '*Vildfarelser*' and to '*føde hans [Christi] Faar med Kundskab og Forstand*' (Skr. I 132, 19ff). The fact that Hauge grounded his message on his understanding of Scripture, however fallible that may have been, is in accordance with Luther's comment that the New Testament was written so that 'the sheep would be able to feed themselves and preserve themselves against the wolves when their shepherds did not feed them or became wolves' (Althaus 1966:73, note 2).

4. Hauge's understanding of prophecy

Hauge's own understanding of prophecy comes to light in the pages of Aarflot's comprehensive analysis of Hauge's '*kristendomsforståelse*' (Aarflot 1969). Aarflot is aware of Hauge's earlier commentators' need and desire to prove '*den rette lutherske gehalt i Hauge's lære*' (p.13), and although his presentation is less apologetic and more objective than Bang's brief analysis (Bang 1910:328-361), the material is arranged in the same categories as found in a book such as Althaus' *Theology of Martin Luther* (1966). This means Hauge's views on prophecy have to be drawn together from diverse parts of Aarflot's analysis in the same way that a traditional Lutheran view has to be synthesised from various books on systematic theology.

4.1 Indirect and direct revelation

As a starting point for Hauge's theological epistemology, Aarflot highlights the fact that Hauge's views on natural revelation (*alminnelig åpenbaring*) (Skr. II 61, 18ff) and the inspiration and authority of Scripture (Skr. I 145, 4) are

⁸ 'Of Ecclesiastical Order they teach that no one should publicly teach in the Church or administer the Sacraments unless regularly called' (*The Augsburg Confession*, Article 14)

consistent with Lutheran doctrine (Aarflot 1969:152-162). In regard to special revelation, he emphasises Hauge's writings contain '*en rekke vitnesbyrd om den tro på det skrevne og forkynnte Guds ord som åpenbaringens egentlige [middelbare] bærer*' (p.163), in other words '*Ordet er det middel, hvorved Gud oplyser Mennesket*' (Skr. III 276, 6).

Despite grounding his understanding of special or direct revelation on the mediation of the Word, Hauge also believed that God spoke by his Spirit directly into the heart, as is seen in the following lines from one of Hauge's prayers:

'... lad din Aand ved Ordet eller umiddelbar føre os paa den rette Vei, at vi dog maatte kunde fatte og forstaae hvad vi skulde gjøre og lade'

(Skr. III 115, 24-26)⁹

Bearing this in mind, Aarflot is careful to present Hauge's understanding of special revelation in and through the Word not only as as '*en motpol til den alminnelige åpenbaring*' but also as '*et korrektiv til en umiddelbar åpenbaring direkte til menneskene i deres ånd*' (Aarflot 1969:164). This comment serves to illustrate how Hauge tested his '*invortes Lys*' or '*Følelser*' (Skr. VI 140, 21) against '*Guds Ord, den rette Prøvesten*' (Skr. VI 116, 25)¹⁰ to protect himself against the accusation of having '*en spiritualistisk og svermerisk kristendomsforståelse som opphøyet det indre åndens lys til åpenbaringsprinsipp uavhengig av det Skrevne Guds ord*' (Aarflot 1969:164). This practice of 'testing the spirits' (1 John 4:1, Skr. II 38,3ff) is consistent with that of non-cessationist Christian traditions¹¹ in which inner revelations or 'prophecies' are accepted if they agree with the teaching of Scripture, and yet are not considered to have the same authority or permanence as Scripture (Grudem 2000:351, Cartledge 1994). These traditions also consider 'testing the spirits' or 'discernment' to have a

⁹ See also Skr. III 100, 6-24

¹⁰ See also Skr. V 114, 30 '*Vi bør ei troe hver Aand eller Tanke, ikke om de fører et Skin til Godt, naar ikke grundige Beviser er dermed efter det aabenbarede Christi sande og forklarede Ord*'

¹¹ Non-cessationist thought considers that prophecy did not cease with the closing of the Christian canon, but that God still continues to reveal himself to mankind through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, e.g. as is the belief and practice in contemporary Pentecostalism and the Charismatic Movement.

prophetic or revelatory character in which the inner testimony of the Holy Spirit in conjunction with Scripture acts as a principle by which the believer distinguishes whether or not a message or revelation is 'from God' (Stibbe 2000:139). From the following it appears that this aspect of testing direct revelation was also Hauge's experience:

'... ja de falske Aander ere utallige og kan være mange i een. Bliv derfor i Jesu Ord, Math. 24 C. 26 V. ... [Guds sande Børn] troer ikke alt, men prøver Aanderne om de er af Gud og bekiender Jesum i sit Kiød, Joh. 1 Ev. 4 C. saa Christi Billede giver sig tilkiende'

(Skr. I 247, 12-20)

'I Elskelige! Troer (sic) ikke hver Aand, men prøver (sic) Aanderne om de ere af Gud; thi mange falske Propheter ere udgangne i Verden; derpaa kiender I Guds Aand. Hver Aand, som bekiender den Herre Christum at være kommen i Kiødet, er af Gud; den det ikke gjør er Antichristens Aand, om hvilken I hørde at han kommer og er allerede i Verden. Disse Apostelen Johannes Ord i sit 1 Brevs 4 Cap. er nøye at betragte; hvor mange falske Aander er ikke nu, der gjør store Tegn med forvendte Ord og Gierninger, at de Udvalgte skulle og forføres om det var mueligt, saa Christi Ord hos Marc. 13 C.,¹² klarlig opfyldes; thi mange skal komme i mit Navn og raabe Herre Herre, Math. 7 C. 21 v, men er Antichristens Aander eller Ateister,¹³ der vil raade sig selv, og ikke ved hans Lidelse og Død døde sine Lyster og Begieringer.'

(Skr. II 38, 3-16)

'giv os din sande Aands Oplysning til at skille imellem det Onde og Gode'

(Skr. II 48, 35 – Skr. II 49, 1)

¹² In the fifth edition the reference was altered to 'Matt. 24 C. 24 v.', which is the actual verse Hauge quotes ('at de Udvalgte skulle og forføres om det var mueligt'). Mark 13: 7 reads 'Thi der skal mange komme under mit Navn, og sige: Jeg er [Christus;] og de skal forføre mange' (Chr. VII).

¹³ In Hauge's time 'Ateister' had the popular meaning 'saadanne som fører et ryggesløst og ugudeligt Levnet, og derfor finde deres Regning ved, at der ingen Gud er til' (See Ordbog over det danske Sprog, 1919).

4.2 The voice of God, dreams and visions

Aarflot (1969:165-6) identifies four ways in which Hauge considered people can experience ‘*umiddlebar aabenbaring*’ (direct revelation) that needs testing against the Word:

- a) An almost physical sense of God’s voice (*Skr.* VII 156, 7)
- b) Through dreams (*Skr.* V 279, 6)
- c) In visions such as those experienced by Daniel and Paul (*Skr.* V 56, 14)
- d) By angelic visitation (*Skr.* I, 158, 5, *Skr.* III 69, 6)

Other than in his comments on angelic visitation, Hauge’s description of hearing God’s voice and having dreams or visions is expressed cautiously, and only in the context of autobiography, e.g.

‘jeg kan af egen erfaring og som han [Daniel] med flere [der] bekiender om sin Henrykkelse, begribe noget, Dan. 10 C. Det er ventelig at det sker saadanne særdeles Bevægelser eller Aandes Virkning og Styrelse i Mennesket’

(*Skr.* V 56, 14)

Most of Hauge’s references to his own experience of direct revelation are not found in the form of spectacular events such as dreams and visions, but in the modest form of ‘*bønnens Samtale*’ (Aarflot 1969:165), e.g.

*‘Jeg bad Gud om at faae døe med hende (hans søster Anne), saa kom jeg til dig algode Fader, og blev frelst fra denne Møie; **men da gienlød i mit Indre meget tydelig:** vil du nu døe ... etc. Jeg skal give dig Kraft og Viisdom, som dine Fiender ikke skal kunne imodstaae, bliv kun fast i dit Forsæt og hold ved i Taalmodighed. Jeg sagde: ja, naar du min Gud vil styrke mig, saa vil jeg være villig’*

(*Skr.* VI 130, 6-17)

*‘jeg sagde: min kjære Fader og hellige Gud! Jeg kan ikke tiene deg eller bekiende dit Navn for menneskene, eller lære Andre, naar jeg selv plages af onde Begjærligheder; **men i mit Indre gjenlød:** vil du være fri, hvor kan du da bevares i Ydmyghed, strid flittig mod alt det Onde, jeg vil gi deg Seier ...’*

(*Skr.* VI 132, 4-9)

The interesting thing about these *‘bønnens Samtaler’* is that they are always found in the context of Hauge’s narration of his calling and, as such, represent Hauge’s endeavour to legitimate his calling as a *‘særdeles Kald’* to be God’s spokesman (*Skr.* II 74, 29-30) in contrast to the ‘ordinary’ calling of those in the priesthood.

4.3 Word and Spirit

Hauge’s insistence that direct revelation is tested against the Bible is closely related to his understanding of the role of Spirit in the enlightened reading and correct interpretation of the Bible by the true believer (Aarflot 1969:170-71). Hauge calls this *‘en aandelig Forstand’* (*Skr.* I 150, 8) and this *‘Guds Aands Oplysning’* is always connected with *‘Ordenes Overveielse’* (*Skr.* I 78, 29), e.g.

‘Beed om den Hellig Aands Oplysning, at de kan aandelig lære at forstaae det [Bibelen], og om de læser andre Bøger, da nøye forsøg om det er det sande Guds Ord.’

(*Skr.* I 104, 27-29)

For Hauge this revelatory function of the Spirit is clearly distinct from, and follows after, the work of the Spirit in convicting the human heart of sin and in the individual’s comprehension of the true nature of the saving message of the gospel. The convicting and revelatory functions of the Spirit are both represented in the following:

‘At der er en Hellig Aand som virker indvortes i Hiertet, kalder, forsamler, oplyser i denne saliggjørende Tro, det kan heller ikke nægtes; thi baade ieg som I og flere, der var lidet belæst, blev i Hast oplyst, hvilken Oplysning ingen kan med Gode eller Rette imodsige’

(*Skr.* V 61, 33)

It is also clear that Hauge deemed that when a believer read Scripture with *‘Aandens Oplysning’*, the Spirit not only revealed spiritual truths concerning

salvation (*Skr.* V 61, 33)¹⁴, which is the commonly understood role of the Spirit, but also revealed a clear understanding of the nature of biblical prophecies that yet remain unfulfilled (*Skr.* I 224-225). Both aspects are found in the following passage from *GV-Fortale*:

‘heele den hellige Skrift henger sammen som et Kiæde naar det ret udlægges, og alt det som angaaer vor Salighed er klart, og der er mange Prophetier der er lyse og aandelig (sic) Aabenbarelsen i, som Naadens Gud har aabenbaret mig ved sin Aand, hvoraf noget skal forklares, som kan tiene til Advarsel og Opmuntring’

(*Skr.* I 151:14-19)

Thus Hauge used the revealed nature of Scripture as prophecy in a twofold manner: a) the proclamation of the gospel and b) the prediction of future events of an eschatological nature. The literature on Hauge’s interpretation of the apocalyptic passages of the Bible is sparse despite the fact that his early works lay considerable emphasis on the meaning of the prophecies in Revelation (see Chapter 5). On the other hand, the emphasis of the literature on Hauge the prophet as a proclaimer of the gospel is a reflection of the weight Hauge himself placed on that activity.

4.4 Prophecy and proclamation

Hauge’s most frequent use of the term ‘prophet’ was to denote the OT prophets; he described their task as a combination of teaching and the proclamation of God’s will:

*‘... siden underviste Gud dem [Eders Fædre] med Propheter om hvad han vilde dem skulde gjøre og lade¹⁵, og dertil ordinerede Lærere eller **Propheter**, som skulde lære dem Guds Villie’*

(*Skr.* I 182, 31-34)

¹⁴ ‘den levende Kraft hans Ord har haft hos de som ret har troet og annammet hans Lære ... er saadant som viser til denne Dag’ and in the same context, ‘At det er en Hellig Aand, som virker indvortes i Hiertet, kalder, forsamler, oplyser i den saliggjøende Tro, det kan heller ikke nægtes’

¹⁵ lade = la, lit. ‘leave’, i.e. in this context, ‘not do’

This is the same role Hauge depicted as being performed by the clergy of his time; in *BVD* he described them as

‘Guds Ords Lærere, som efter den hellige Skrift Bibelen skal forklare Guds Villie, tilmed hvers Saligheds Befordring, uden Hyklerie eller Vidlfarelse’

(*Skr. I*, 83, 7-9).

This description is in accordance with the obligations of the clergy found in Pontoppidan’s *Forklaring*: *‘at lære, formane og straffe, samt idelig at bede for dem [Tilhørene] og foregaae dem med et godt Exempel’* (Pontoppidan 1854:36, my emphasis). Thus the clergy were considered prophets in the sense their task was to teach and preach the gospel.

This understanding is supported by Pontoppidan’s understanding of clergy who do not fulfil this role to be *‘falske Propheter iblant Lærerne, som man skal vogte sig for’* (p.37). He describes these ‘false prophets’ as those who *‘gjøre Himmels Vei bred og bedrage Sjælene med Saligheds Haab, indtil de vaagne i Helvede’* (p.37). Hauge considered many clergy to be *‘falske Propheter eller Lærere’* on precisely these grounds (*Skr. I* 189, 13, *Skr. I*, 104, 30ff) and saw their ‘false teaching’ as a sign that the End Times were approaching (see Chapter 5). As Hauge considered it essential that as many people as possible were saved before Judgement Day, he encouraged lay people to ‘prophesy’ in the sense of ‘preach the gospel’ because the clergy were not fulfilling their role. Hauge described this form of prophesying as to *‘formere (increase) de sande Christne’* (*Skr. I* 230, 14), or to *‘formeere (sic) hans [Jesu] Legems Lemmer’* (*Skr. II* 63, 1). He justified this stance by invoking Numbers 11:29¹⁶ and Joel 2:28-29¹⁷. Key to the use of Joel 2 is the insistence on prophecy / proclamation being a result of the inspiration of the Spirit and carried out in the power of the Spirit:

¹⁶ ‘But Moses replied, “Are you jealous for my sake? I wish that all the Lord’s people were prophets and that the Lord would put his Spirit on them!”’ (NIV)

¹⁷ ““And afterwards, I will pour out my Spirit on all people. Your sons and daughters will prophesy, your old men will dream dreams, your young men will see visions. Even on my servants, both men and women, I will pour out my Spirit on those days.”’ (NIV)

‘Jeg i min tredie Bøg, under Tittel: En Sandkeds Bekiendelse om Saligheds Sag, som og i de andre, driver paa, at vi skal bekiende Jesum, endog for den hoeragtige og syndige Slægt, Marc. 8 C., ja jeg ønsker med Mose, at alle Herrens Folk vare Propheter, 4 Mose B. 11 C. 29 v.; thi I kunde alle prophetere, den eene efter den anden, og alle lære, og alle blive formanede, ... Det var jo glædeligt, [at] om vi oplevede den Tid, Guds Naade-Løfter hos Propheten Joel bleve opfyldte: Det skal skee i de sidste Dage, siger Gud, vil jeg udgyde min Aand over alt Kiød, og Eders Sønner og Døttre skal prophetere, hvilke Ord vel Apostelen Peder igientog, da Aandens Gaver faldt paa dem den Tid, Ap. G. 2 C [17 V.] men disse Dage er jo endnu, og derfor [skal vi] ikke foragte nogen; thi Gud anseer ikke Personer, men den, som gjør Ret og Retfærdighed, 10 C. [34-35 V.] ’

(Skr. II 74, 8-24)¹⁸

We see evidence of Hauge’s belief that his own preaching of the gospel, either orally or in written form, was a Spirit inspired or ‘prophetic’ activity from his own description of how his sermons and books came into being:

‘Da jeg Skrev paa mine første Skrifter, da faldt mange Bibelsprog mig paa Sinde, som jeg ikke vidste jeg havde læst, uden mulighed i min Barndom, og grundige sætninger, som jeg ikke vidste hvorfra de kom mig i Tanker, ja baade naar jeg Skrev og talede il Opbyggelse for andre, da faldt det saa let for min Hukommelse at udføre og sammenbinde gudelige Taler, saa jeg ikke vidste hvor de kom fra, og mange, der kjendte mig for en læg Mand, forundrede sig derover.’

(Skr. VI 131, 20-28)¹⁹

Here Hauge is making indirect reference to John 14:26 where Jesus tells his disciples that the Spirit ‘will teach you all things’ and ‘will remind you of everything I have said to you’.²⁰ Even from this short paragraph we can conclude that Hauge considered the inspirational work of the Spirit to include reminding him of Scripture passages he had read; leading him to passages he had not read; giving him the ability to use one passage to reveal the meaning of another; and providing the ability to construct convincing arguments by which to proclaim the gospel. In John 16:12-15 Jesus amplified on the inspirational role

¹⁸ See also Skr. I 242,15ff and Skr. II, 43,30ff

¹⁹ c.f. ‘det var Iesu egne Ord som straffede Præsterne etc., og ieg havde ei lært mig selv, det var kommet for mig, det ieg skulde Skrive og bevise med Bibelen og deres Frugter, saa det var ikke nogen løgnaktig Aand’ (Skr. V 7, 22-25).

²⁰ See also John 16:12-15

of the Spirit, and it is this passage that Hauge used in order to justify his belief that inspiration from the Spirit enabled him to know to some extent ‘what is yet to come’ in relating his own times to his reading of various apocalyptic texts in the Bible.

Understanding the part this spiritual dynamic plays in Hauge’s approach to the Bible is an essential key to deciphering some of his more obtuse word and thought associations. In Hauge’s own words

‘Det er nødvendigt for Læseren, der vil forstaae min med anden Jesu Lære²¹, at sukke til Gud om Aands Oplysning’

(Skr. I 123, 23-26)

because

‘jeg er vis om at den vil blive [Daarlighed] for Verdens viise Mennesker’ (Skr I 35, 17-18)

and

‘thi dem er døde og stumme naar Guds Ord handles, fordi de er af Dievelen og i det aandelige død’

(Skr. I 223, 6-7)

In other words, prophecy as proclamation is not a matter of the rational expounding of a principle that requires only the use of cognitive response, but to be effective it requires the inspiration of the Spirit on the part of the messenger and the stirring of the Spirit on the part of the receiver, a communicative activity sometimes described in the terms of Psalm 42:7 as ‘deep calling to deep’. It is precisely this aspect of prophecy – its inaccessibility to the purely rational enquirer – that makes it so difficult to describe or explain. It is in an attempt to maintain this dynamic nature of prophecy that prophetic imagination is suggested as a suitable paradigm with which to approach Hauge’s prophetic speech.

²¹ Read ‘Det er nødvendig for leseren som vil forstå min lære, og det som Jesus lærer, å sukke ...’ etc

5. Prophetic imagination

Considering that Hauge and his commentators have understood prophecy as preaching, it bears asking whether prophetic imagination as a paradigm is too alien a concept in relation to this understanding of prophecy to be used as a tool for examining Hauge's texts as prophecy. It is my contention that there are two aspects of Hauge's texts that bear some relation to the dialectic of prophetic criticism and prophetic energising which make up the functioning of prophetic imagination²² and that both of these aspects of Hauge's texts can be connected with the notion of prophecy as preaching. The first is an aspect of Lutheran theology which emphasises the twin threads of 'law' and 'gospel' which are understood to constitute God's Word. The second is the common recognition in all Christian traditions that prophecy has the task of admonishing and encouraging the receiver especially in the context of the community of believers.

5.1 Law and gospel

'God's law' can be defined as 'the theological or spiritual aspect of the moral imperative naturally present in the human heart', particularly as specified in the Ten Commandments (Althaus 1966:251). This spiritual law 'demands a pure heart, perfect obedience, [and] perfect fear and love of God' which man by nature cannot achieve, and thus the law 'constantly accuses him and delivers him up to God's wrath and judgement' (p.254). One of Luther's great arguments was that the law by itself had no power to rid man of this dilemma as salvation could not be earned by law keeping and good works. Luther contended that opposed to the law's voice of accusation and condemnation, the gospel's declaration of the free offer of the forgiveness of sins was one of comfort and encouragement. Luther also maintained that despite the different and contrasting functions of law and gospel, each entails the other: an understanding of God's goodness through a grasp of the gospel leads to consciousness of the law and vice versa (p.263). He went as far as to express the idea that in God's Word law and gospel were inseparable: each part contained law and gospel in constant tension – yet faith always moves from law to gospel (p.264-265).

²² A full explanation of the terms 'prophetic criticising' and 'prophetic energising' is given in the following chapter.

This representation of God's Word is reflected in the aspects of prophetic imagination that Brueggemann calls 'prophetic criticising' and 'prophetic energising'. Prophetic criticising contains the admonitory aspects of law, whereas prophetic energising contains the encouraging and comforting aspects of gospel, and the task of the prophetic ministry is to hold both together in vibrant tension so that an alternative consciousness with the potential to alter the future is permitted to emerge.

Aarflot has made a careful study of how Luther's distinction between law and gospel is reflected in Hauge's writings (1969:178-189). Hauge's eagerness to encourage his readers to use the Ten Commandments as a tool for self examination is seen as his understanding that the law '*skaper syndserkjennelse og sorg over å ha gjort Guds Vilje imot*' (Aarflot 1969:180), e.g.

'... bede af et ydmygt Hierte om den Hellige Aand til at eftertænke ved Loven, hvoraf kommer Syndens Erkiendelse'

(Skr. I 99, 31-33)

Aarflot also points out that Hauge used Jesus' example (gospel) as a means of helping the individual face up to their sinfulness in the sight of God (p.180):

'... naar vi nu betragter den evangeliske eller Jesu egen Lære, da er den skarpere end Mose Lov; ... Loven kræver det ganske Menneske med Legeme og Siel ... saa vi bør og skal elske Gud, og det maa Evangelium eller Jesu Død og igenlevende Kraft opfylde'

(Skr. III 453, 26ff)

Hauge's references to gospel are fewer than those to law, yet Aarflot stresses there is no doubt that Hauge declared that '*evangeliets ord*' was the only means of salvation (p. 186). Despite this, Hauge's focus on law and the need for penitence has caused some to describe his writing as '*lovisk*' (legalistic) (p.57). Aarflot counteracts this accusation by pointing out that Hauge highlights the sense of unity in the Word, i.e. law and gospel acting together, in that he very rarely presents gospel in isolation from law (p.182-183). This comes to light

specifically in two of the sermons in Hauge's *Postille* (1800). The first is found in the context of Hauge's exposition of Matt. 24:15-28 (*Evangelium, Fem og tyvende Søndag efter Trinitas*):

'naar Jesus med sit glade Evangelii Buskap kommer i vort Hierte, og oplyser os om den himmelske Herlighed, saa faaer vi og see den Synds Ureenhed, som vi ligger nedsænket i, og Lovens Torden kommer derefter, som tordner og forbander vor Tilstand, men da er det at give Agt paa begge: Evangelium som drager vort Hierte til Gud, og Loven som straffe os for det Onde'

(Skr. III 606, 3ff)

The second is found in a sermon on the lectionary reading for the Feast of John the Baptist (Is. 49:1-6), where Hauge uses the image of God's Word as a two-edged sword of which one edge is gospel and the other is law:

'den ene Eg [af Guds Ord] er Guds Kierlighed og Hellighed, der overgaaer alt som for Kiødet saae deiligt ud, og afsier dets Lyster eller drager Menneskets Villie derfra; og den anden Eg er Forbandelsen over dem som det Onde følger'

(Skr. III 426, 2-5)

My examination of Hauge's use of biblical forms of prophetic speech (Chapter 4) appears to substantiate the view that Hauge's emphasis is more on law than gospel. In his early texts Hauge used mainly announcements of judgement, which are criticising in nature and correspond to the idea of 'law', as opposed to announcements of salvation, which are energising in nature and correspond to the idea of 'gospel'. Despite this bias, both law and gospel - criticism and energising - are present in Hauge's writing.

5.2 'Formaning' and 'Opbyggelse'

Besides being an act of proclamation in the preaching of the Word, prophecy is understood in many Christian traditions as having two functions within the community of believers: admonition and encouragement (Cartledge 1994, Grudem 2000). This idea is based on 1 Corinthians 14:3, where the function of prophecy in the Norwegian translation of the NT is described as being for

‘*opbyggelse, formaning og trøst*’ (Chr. VII). This understanding of the prophetic task as *Formaning* (admonition) and *Oppbyggelse* (encouragement) reflects the division of God’s Word into law and gospel, and also reflects the division of prophetic imagination into criticising and energising functions.²³

This dual function of prophecy within the community of believers was familiar to Hauge. He used 1 Cor.14:3 and 1 Cor. 14:31 to underline the functions of prophecy as both admonition and encouragement:

*‘thi om det end er Forskiel paa deres Størrelse eller Gavernes Betroelse, saa ere de dog hverandre underdanig i Guds frygt og **kan alle prophetere og alle formaner** (sic) den eene efter den anden, 1 Cor. 14 C. 31 V., thi de er alle som een, fordi de lærer en Vej’*

(Skr. I 242, 29-30)

*‘I Apstg.G.[21] seer [vi] og [at] Paulus drog ind til 4re Døtre som profeterede. Selv forklarer denne: **at profetere er at tale til Oppbyggelse**, i 1 Corint: 14C.’*

(Kvammen 1974:38)

Both of these aspects of prophecy are expressed in the following extract from GV-7 as ‘*Skræk*’ and ‘*Opmuntring*’:

*‘Saaledes har jeg da givet eder liden Forklaring over noget af Prophetiens Ord, som kan tiene de Gode til **Opmuntring** og de Onde til **Skræk**’*

(Skr. I 232, 11-13)

²³ Note that 1 Cor. 14:3 (NIV) reads ‘But everyone who prophesies speaks to men for their strengthening, encouragement and comfort’. These three functions of prophecy are all ‘energising’ and reflect the sense of the original Greek words *oikodomē* (edification), *paraklēsis* (encouragement) and *paramuthia* (consolation). The Chr. VII translation ‘*opbyggelse, formaning og trøst*’ brings the connotation of admonition, which is ‘criticising’ in function, to the meaning of *paraklēsis*. Thus it must be noted that although the Chr. VII translation suits our purposes in using prophetic imagination as a paradigm to examine Hauge’s texts, and has obviously affected Hauge’s own understanding of prophecy, it is not a true NT representation of prophecy (see Grudem 2000:126-127).

and in *GV-Fortale* as ‘*Advarsel*’ and ‘*Opmuntring*’:

‘der er mange Prophetier der er lyse og aandelig (sic) Aabenbarelsen i, som Naadens Gud har aabenbaret mig ved sin Aand, hvoraf noget skal forklares, som kan tjene til Advarsel og Opmuntring’

(*Skr. I* 151, 18-19)

5.3 Aspects of a dialectic tension

Although the above two sections come at prophecy from two different angles, the similarity of the dialectic tensions within each idea is striking. Considering prophecy as the proclamation of the Word and the Word as consisting of law and gospel equates agreeably with the view of prophecy as a means of offering admonition and encouragement within the community of believers. Both of these aspects of prophecy are also reflected in the two major genres of prophecy found in the Bible - announcements of judgement and announcements of salvation - both forms of which Hauge used in his early texts. The two components in all these views of prophecy correspond with the two functional elements of prophetic imagination: prophetic criticism and prophetic energising. Thus, although Brueggemann’s paradigm may initially seem an unusual tool with which to approach Hauge’s texts as prophetic utterance, the connection between prophetic imagination and previously expressed views on Hauge as prophet is sufficient to warrant its use in this context.

Notwithstanding the subtle differences between these understandings of prophecy, the consideration of the common tension between criticism and energising helps us appreciate the multi-faceted nature of prophecy and offers a means that permits us to intuit an understanding of how God’s Word can be described as ‘living and active’ (Heb. 4:12) in the sense that it can affect radical change. Taking a metaphor from quantum physics, in which matter in constant motion is seen as only a small step away from being a living organism, the constant reverberation between law and gospel, prophetic criticising and prophetic energising, admonition and encouragement, and announcements of judgement and announcements of salvation, allows us to grasp - if even for a

moment - the possibility that the dynamic tension in prophetic utterance is the essence of its 'life' - one in which a variation in the fluctuation of energy (Spirit) permits the determination and perception of new patterns of being.²⁴ In this context it is interesting that Aarflot accentuates Hauge's appreciation of the '*spenning og enheten mellom lov og evangelium*' in the same breath that he observes that Hauge's writings display a close association with Luther's idea that '*det muntlige ord i prekenen var det skapende ord, viva vox evangelii*' (p.188).

6. Conclusion

This chapter has sought to provide a working foundation for the study of Hauge's early writings as prophetic utterance firstly by presenting a general working definition of prophecy, secondly by examining the various conceptions of Hauge as prophet that have appeared in the literature, and finally by suggesting that prophetic imagination as a paradigm has aspects in common with Lutheran understandings of prophecy that permit it to make a valid contribution to advancing this particular area of Hauge research.

The underlying understanding of 'prophecy' in this thesis is spoken or written discourse inspired by the Holy Spirit, and that of 'prophet' as someone who speaks for God as the revealer or interpreter of his will as a result of inspiration by the Holy Spirit. The key factor is the divine inspiration of the individual. Although we do not understand prophecy primarily as prediction of the future, the futurity of prophecy is recognised as being a key element in terms of the energising aspect of prophetic imagination.

The literature presents Hauge the prophet in various guises: a foreteller of the future, a popular visionary apocalyptic, a charismatic leader, and a revival preacher. Hauge's role as a foreteller of the future is doubtful in that the

²⁴ The metaphor of particles of energy in constant motion being close in 'being' to the substance of a living organism (see Charap 2004) has been used by Torrance as a means of representing the Trinitarian nature of God (1996:173) and the nature of divine self revelation (1982:10-20). Although Torrance looks at a tripartite resonance as the basis of revelation, the quantum physics metaphor retains some validity as a means of looking at two invisible entities in constant motion.

example used to give credence to this bears more relation to Hauge's apocalyptic understanding of his own times than his prognostication of Norway's more imminent future (see Chapter 5). Although Amundsen has shown that Hauge has much in common with popular apocalyptic visionaries, the differences between Hauge and such visionaries are notable. As such, these indicate that viewing Hauge as a popular apocalyptic visionary is only valuable in respect to understanding a small aspect of his prophetic task and probably has more bearing on how his texts might have been received by sections of his readership than being indicative of the literary context out of which his writings arose. Gilje's use of Weber's ideas concerning charisma and charismatic authority provides an interesting approach to explaining Hauge's success as an inspirational leader, but appears difficult to apply further without some modification. Poloma's division of Weber's notion of charisma into 'magical charisma' and 'prophetic charisma' offers one way forward (Poloma 1989). Investigation of Hauge's charismatic personality and character (magical charisma) is limited to the few existing eye witness descriptions. The only aspect of Hauge's charisma that remains accessible for current examination is his writings. These represent part of his 'prophetic charisma', i.e. a message that has power to alter the hearer.

The main understanding of Hauge as prophet is as a revival preacher whose legitimation to speak lay in Gisle Johnson's '*nødsprinsippet*'. The idea of Hauge as a prophet-preacher synchronises with the traditional Lutheran views of his past commentators, in which prophecy understood as continuing revelation is considered not to occur after the closing of the canon of Scripture. In Hauge's context, the prevailing scholarly belief that all revelation must necessarily be mediated through the Word is one explanation for the frequency with which Hauge quotes or refers to the Bible, and for the frequency with which Hauge exhorts his readers to test his words against the Bible's message. Although Hauge seems to understand this as sufficient to merit the authorisation of his speech and sees one aspect of prophecy as the task of preaching, his particular means of prophetic exegesis brings into play a degree of direct revelation in the interpretation of the Word that was unacceptable to his learned critics.

In the light of past conceptualisations of Hauge as prophet, Brueggemann's paradigm appears to be a very different approach to prophecy. Nonetheless, it has been suggested in this chapter that the Lutheran understanding of prophecy as the preached Word of God can be related to prophetic imagination by relating its functions of criticism and energising with the preached Word conceived as 'law' and 'gospel' and as 'admonition' (*Formaning*) and 'encouragement' (*Opbyggelse*). Both of these binary oppositions are evident in Hauge's writings, as are the contrasting prophetic forms 'announcements of judgement' and 'announcements of salvation' (see Chapter 4). It was also suggested, using a metaphor from quantum physics, that these different conceptions of the dialectic tensions in prophetic speech could be considered as a means of understanding the basis from which the 'living' principle of God's Word is derived.

Any discussion of Hauge as prophet and his message as prophecy raises the subject of the legitimacy of his calling. This issue has been addressed briefly in this chapter in relation to both Bang's and Hallesby's appeal to Johnson's '*nødsprinsippet*' and Hauge's own view of his calling being a 'special' calling, but will be further developed in Chapter 3 which looks at both the identification and legitimation of Hauge's prophetic speech.

Having covered the background issues relating to the research project, we now move on to take a close look at Brueggemann's paradigm 'prophetic imagination' and describe the way in which Hauge's socio-political context demonstrated conditions more than suitable for producing prophets and prophecy.

Chapter 2: Brueggemann's paradigm 'Prophetic Imagination'

1. Introduction

In the preliminary stages of my research, I set out to use Brueggemann's paradigm 'prophetic imagination' as a touchstone for examining the early works of Hans Nielsen Hauge as prophecy. Although it was later found that Brueggemann's paradigm needed to be supplemented by Wright's worldview schema in order to identify the symbols at work in Hauge's prophetic imagination (see Chapter 6, Sections 1-2), there is sufficient overlap in the fundamental thinking behind Brueggemann's and Wright's ideas about the functioning of language in prophetic speech to warrant a description of Brueggemann's paradigm. The intention of this chapter is to introduce the concept of prophetic imagination, to outline its four main components and their mutual interaction, and to describe the initial steps taken in trying to isolate criticising and energising speech in Hauge's early texts. Wright's schema is described in Chapter 6, Sections 3 and 4; together Brueggemann and Wright's ideas form a powerful for the analysis of the power of prophetic speech to change the listener's perception of reality.

2. Brueggemann's 'Prophetic Imagination'

Walter Brueggemann first proposed the notion of 'prophetic imagination' in 1978 as a result of his ongoing study of the OT prophets. The material was initially presented as a series of lectures and subsequently published as *The Prophetic Imagination* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978), which ran to five editions. The publication of a revised and updated edition of *Prophetic Imagination* some twenty years on (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001) indicates the durability of the concept of 'prophetic imagination'; this probably being the result of the post-modern emphasis on experience and subjectivity inherent in both the terms 'prophetic' and 'imagination'.

Although Brueggemann comments that the title's 'interface of "prophetic" and "imagination" ... was entirely a happenstance' (Brueggemann 2001:xiv), his ideas themselves proved to be both prophetic and imaginative in that his paradigm coincided with, if not anticipated, the application of social-scientific criticism and rhetorical criticism to OT texts (Gottwald 1979, Tribble 1978, Wilson 1980). Despite the theoretical nature of these and other such developments in the literature since its first publication, *Prophetic Imagination* was intended to describe 'a concrete practice that is undertaken by real believers who share the conviction of grief and hope that escapes the restraints of the dominant culture' (Brueggemann 2001:121). This emphasis was picked up by McAuley Smith, who set out to test the *practical validity* of prophetic imagination in parish ministry (McAuley-Smith 1999). McAuley-Smith's findings indicated that prophetic witness need not only be conceived theoretically as a struggle against 'false fields of perception and idolatrous systems of language and rhetoric' (Brueggemann 2001:1), but also as a *mindset that is reflected in the action* of 'the community of God's people who are striving to be faithful to the whole counsel of God's Word' (Brueggemann 2001:125). This links clearly with Magnus' findings regarding the Haugian revival that 'as he [a person] thinks within himself, so he is' (Proverbs 23:7, Magnus 1996:263). Thus for those, like Magnus, who have meticulously documented the social manifestations of religious revivals such as the Haugian revival and searched for more than a sociological explanation as to its initial cause (Magnus 1976), prophetic imagination provides a means of tracing a line backwards from the visible actions of individuals in society to the primary transformative processes of mind and language.

2.1 An alternative frame of reference

As I mentioned in my survey of the literature, recent work on Hauge has focussed its efforts in two areas: sociology and rhetorical criticism. In different ways and to different degrees, both fields have emphasised the importance of Hauge's early texts in the mobilisation of the Haugian movement.

Sociological studies have relied on the understanding of texts as 'ideological statements evoked by and evoking specific forms of social action and policy,

social authorisation, and social criticism' (Brueggemann 2001:x). Texts that mobilise a specific ideology are usually identified as highlighting a set of perceived grievances, proposing a solution, and presenting a rationale for social action. Seen from this sociological aspect, prophets – whether religious or secular - are 'representative voices' of the unexpressed dissatisfaction felt in a broad expanse of a population and employ a recognisable and characteristic rhetorical strategy to persuade their hearers as to the rightness of their cause. Such prophets are acknowledged as resorting to religious language, not only because this is often the only language of protest available to them (Thorkildsen 1998), but because the 'intimate contact between biblical texts of the prophetic sort and matters of social justice, social interest, and social criticism seem[s] incontrovertible' (Brueggemann 2001:xi).

The sociological model of prophets voicing grievances on behalf of a community conforms to the idea of the prophetic voice as a confrontation between the prophet and the established dominant power. This model has an inherent weakness, however, in that it assumes that the prophet has enough social or moral influence to gain a hearing (p.xii). This is not always the case. Prophets who are representative voices of a widely felt grievance tend to arise on the margins of society, as this is a social context where grievance appears to be more often and more keenly felt. Studies in the area of rhetorical criticism have acknowledged the apparent powerlessness of the 'marginal prophet'. Although such studies, like sociologically based studies, recognise the reliance of prophecy on the re-utterance of biblical texts, the dependency on biblical language and quotations is seen more in terms of the need of the prophet to assume the authoritative aura of the canonical text in order to legitimate their speech and to gain a hearing.

Brueggemann's approach to understanding the function of prophecy embraces the contributions made by social-scientific criticism and rhetorical studies in that he too sees biblical prophetic texts as 'materials that fund the would-be prophetic voice' (p.xii). However, Brueggemann does not see the confrontations between biblical prophets and biblical kings as models for re-enactment, or the use of the biblical text as a means of self-authorisation for the prophet, but rather

he stresses that ‘a relatively powerless prophetic voice must find imaginative ways that are rooted in the [biblical] text ... that freely and daringly move from the text towards concrete circumstance’ (p.xii). Brueggemann sees these ‘imaginative ways’ of the ‘prophetic voice’ as depending on *rhetoric as generative imagination*, a concept which understands texts as ‘acts of imagination that purpose alternative worlds that exist because of, and in the act of, utterance’ (p.x). Thus the would-be prophet can be understood as one who perceives and then *re-utters* the biblical text as ‘offers of reality counter to [the] dominant reality that characteristically enjoys hegemonic authority but is characteristically uncritical of itself’ (p.xi).

2.2 An epistemological shift

Essential to Brueggemann’s understanding of prophecy as generative imagination is the supposition of two opposing kinds of reality – the dominant or hegemonic reality, and an alternative reality imagined and constituted by the utterance of the prophet. The act of prophetic imagination engendered in the utterance of the prophet seeks to move the receiver from the conscious realm of the hegemonic reality to that of the alternative reality (p.3). This epistemological shift on the part of the receiver is analogous to Snow’s sociological concept of frame transformation (religious conversion), which is a means of frame alignment that can occur with the micro-mobilisation of a resource such as an ideology (see Introduction, Section 2.3.5 and Snow 1986:467-473).

The advantage of using Brueggemann’s paradigm rather than Snow’s model as a starting point from which to analyse prophetic speech is that prophetic imagination proposes a means by which the shift between one reality and another can be located within the language of the prophetic utterance. This shift or transformation essentially depends on replacing one or more of the key metaphors or key symbols on which an individual (or community) bases its organisation of knowledge with a different key metaphor or symbol (Ortner 1973).

Brueggemann proposes that prophetic language precipitates this shift in key metaphors, or, as he would put it, the shift from the dominant consciousness to

the alternative 'prophetic' consciousness, by means of the concurrent action what he terms 'prophetic criticising' and 'prophetic energising' (Brueggemann 2001:3). Prophetic criticising acts to 'dismantle the dominant consciousness', whereas prophetic energising acts to invigorate 'persons and communities by its promise of another time and situation to which the community of faith may move' (p.3).

3. The dominant or 'royal' consciousness

3.1 The revolutionary cycle

Essential to Brueggemann's proposition for the operation of prophetic imagination is the existence of a dominant or 'royal' consciousness out of which, and against which, the prophet speaks. From his study of the OT, Brueggemann puts forward Pharaoh's Egypt and the reign of the Israelite King Solomon as key examples of dominant consciousness, from which he extrapolates a set of common characteristics that are representative of those of aristocratic empires in general (Brueggemann 2001:21).

Brueggemann depicts Pharaoh's Egypt as the dominant consciousness which was dismantled by the prophetic imagination of Moses, allowing an alternative consciousness to emerge in the form of the nation of Israel. The 'revolutionary' nature of the society constructed on Moses' alternative depiction of reality was able to sustain itself until approximately 962 B.C. At this point in Israel's history the social program inaugurated by King Solomon abandoned Moses' vision.

This caused a radical shift in the life and faith of Israel that resulted in society returning to a variant of the royal consciousness from which it had emerged two hundred and fifty years previously (p.23). In contrast to Moses, who is described as the greatest prophet (Deut. 34:10), Brueggemann describes the voices of the prophets in later OT history, e.g. Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as the locus of a new expression of prophetic imagination. These prophets criticise the royal consciousness upon which Solomon has founded his kingdom and offer hope to the people by reactivating the major cultural symbol in Israel's history – the 'exodus event'. In overview, Brueggemann depicts the history of Israel as a revolutionary cycle: liberation from the oppression of Egypt; the freedom of the early years of Israel's history; the reinstatement of oppression under Solomon and subsequently under the Assyrians and Babylonians; and a call to re-liberation which can only be fulfilled in the ultimate alternative reality of the Kingdom of God instigated by Jesus Christ.

What is important to my thesis is not so much the cycle of events depicted by Brueggemann, but his depiction of the role of prophetic voices at key moments of change in that cycle. Hauge's prophetic utterance can be seen as directed at dismantling the equivalent of Solomon's royal consciousness - Denmark's 400 years rule of Norway. Some of Hauge's early twentieth-century American commentators have seen him in precisely this light - as the hero who ushered in independence and the 'alternative reality' of a newly emergent Norwegian nation that reflected the glory of its pre-Danish past (Arntzen 1933, Nodvedt 1965:219):

‘Undaunted by bourgeois opposition, Hauge and his lay preachers stirred the Norwegian *bønder* to rebuild their spiritual foundations and the result was an aroused and reawakened people, a resurrection of the ancient passion for individual and social freedom dominant among the Norsemen of the illustrious Viking Age. Norwegian historians can find no other term to describe this dramatic change than to characterise it as a revival or regeneration of the spirit of the people.’

(Nodvedt 1965:219)

The secular prophetic ‘hope’ of early nineteenth-century Norwegian nationalism looked back at Norway’s past greatness with the intent of instilling the desire for the re-establishment of Norway as a nation in the heart of its people (Elviken 1931). Seen in this light, Hauge’s writings could be understood as political pamphlets (Mykland 1993); although it is widely acknowledged that Hauge did not have a political agenda (Steen 1945).

3.2 Danish absolutism – the ‘royal’ consciousness

In comparing the general structure of Brueggemann’s overview of Israel’s history with Hauge’s context, one factor stands out in particular: the Danish

absolutist monarchy as the dominant or 'royal' consciousness into which the 'alternative consciousness', whether political or religious, could be considered to have been encultured and from which it needed to be reclaimed.

3.2.1 The characteristics of 'royal' consciousness

From an examination of Solomon's reign, Brueggemann identifies six characteristics attributable to royal consciousness:

- 1) A fascination with wisdom
- 2) A system of tax districts
- 3) A standing army
- 4) An elaborate bureaucracy
- 5) Conscripted labour
- 6) Concern for 'self-generated fertility'

Brueggemann emphasises that in Solomon's monarchy all these characteristics operated under the auspices of state controlled religion, and that their implementation has been variously understood by scholars as the 'paganisation' or 'enlightenment' of Israel (Brueggemann 2001:24-25). Brueggemann's association of the characteristics of royal consciousness with the term 'enlightenment' suggests the first point of contact between Brueggemann's paradigm and Hauge's context. The Age of Enlightenment, or the 'fascination

with wisdom', which flowered in eighteenth-century Europe had reached its pinnacle at the time Hauge stepped into the public sphere. In the theological arena, the Enlightenment manifested itself as Rationalism, a way of thinking that sought answers to theological questions by resorting to reason, and which, in its extreme forms, used the Bible as a template for the exhortation to moral behaviour and model citizenship rather than transcendental belief. Hauge has been described by various scholars as wanting to stem and reverse the tide of Rationalism (Bang 1910:1-3, 24, Hauge 1924:10, Magnus 1978:23).

Danish absolutism demonstrated the second of Brueggemann's royal consciousness – a system of tax districts - in that it introduced a system of regular taxation which replaced the financing of state expenditure from Crown resources typical of the pre-absolutist Danish administration. The implementation of a tax state was a direct result of the development of a 'new format of war' in the seventeenth century which required Brueggemann's third characteristic of royal consciousness - a standing army. Jespersen describes the burden of administration on the absolutist state as comparable in size with that of the modern administration of public health and social security – a task which undeniably required an elaborate bureaucracy – the fourth characteristic of Brueggemann's royal consciousness (Jespersen 1987:310).

Brueggemann's fifth characteristic of royal consciousness – conscripted labour – is the one factor that Denmark-Norway did not exercise to the same degree as was demanded from Israel by Solomon's building projects. However, as opposed to the Danish army, which consisted of enlisted men, the Norwegian army was conscripted; conscription being one of the functions of each district's bailiff or tax collector (*foged*) (Kullerud 1996:22).

Finally, both Solomon's monarchy and Danish absolutism shared a common concern for 'self-generated fertility' (Brueggemann 2001:24). This characteristic of royal consciousness can be considered to have been expressed by Danish absolutism which granted hereditary rights to the throne to the Danish king at the mediation of Almighty God (Derry 1979:137, Jespersen 1987:313-314).

3.2.2 Three aspects of 'royal' consciousness

Besides exhibiting these six characteristics, Brueggemann describes royal consciousness as the inter-relation of three fundamental facets which he terms 'the economics of affluence', 'the politics of oppression' and 'a religion of immanence' or 'static religion', all of which are representative of the dominant consciousness of Hauge's context (Brueggemann 2001:30).

3.2.2a Economics of affluence

Brueggemann describes Solomon's monarchy as one of 'incredible well-being and affluence' but one in which 'affluence and prosperity is not democratically shared' (p.26). He argues that satiation at the highest levels of society is all that is required to produce a 'politics of oppression' and 'static religion' by reason of 'the ability of satiation to breed indifference among the ruling class to the plight of royal subjects' (p.26).

This discrepancy between the highest estate of eighteenth-century Norwegian society (*embetsstand*) and the common people (*bondestand*) was noted by Hauge when he wrote that '*[Dyr tid] plager [bare] de fattige, thi de Rige har Loftene fulde, derfor mangler dem ikke...*' (Skr. I 86) and that '*[de Rige] har al Omsørg for at samle sig Liggendefæ, opbygger herlige Huuse og samler sig derudi god Forraad, og dersom der kommer Fattige til dem, saa har dem lidet, men til Dands, Spil, Comoedier, prægtig Klædedragt, Fraadserie og Drukkenskab, det haver dem nok til at forlyste sig udi*' (Skr. I 85).

3.2.2b Politics of oppression

Brueggemann contests that the affluence demonstrated by the higher classes of the hegemonic power facilitates the second of the three inter-related aspects of royal consciousness: oppressive social policy. In the time of Solomon, this oppression took the form of taxation, bureaucracy, forced labour and

conscription (Brueggemann 2001:27). Many of Hauge's biographers have depicted the life of a peasant in eighteenth-century Norwegian society as oppressive, not only as the result of the daily struggle for survival resulting from the unequal distribution of material resources, but also due to the implementation of '*et detaljert og rigorøst lovverk*' (Magnus 1978:28) by '*en sterk sentral forvaltning med kongen på toppen ... et system som i stor grad gikk for eget maskineri*' (Kullerud 1996:24).

The ordinances most often referred to by Hauge's commentators are those that limited the social, geographical and economic movement of the *bondesstand*: The Conventicle Act (*Konventikkelplakaten*), which limited the religious activity of lay people; The Vagrancy Act (*Løsgjengerloven*), which forbade people to travel without an official permit thus limiting the opportunities for work; and various trading laws, which regulated who could trade particular goods in a particular area and with whom.

3.2.2c Religion of a 'captive' God

The third of the trilogy of inter-related factors Brueggemann sees as constituting royal consciousness is a 'controlled, static religion'; one which provides the 'theological sanction' without which the economics of affluence and politics of oppression could not function. He defines static religion as one in which 'God and his temple have become part of the royal landscape, in which the sovereignty of God is subordinated to the purpose of the king' (Brueggemann

2001:28). In other words ‘there is no notion that God is free and that he may act apart from and even against the regime’ (p.29).

Brueggemann describes this ‘captive’ God controlled by the royal court, whether that court is understood as Solomon’s or that of the absolute monarch in Copenhagen, as serving two functions. Firstly ‘it assures ready sanction to every notion of the king because there can be no transcendental resistance or protest’ (Brueggemann 2001:29), a notion which corresponds exactly with Jespersen’s observation that the divine legitimation of the Danish absolute monarch had the consequence that ‘no human being could with impunity oppose the regime, which [was thus] ... totally freed in relation to the people’ (Jespersen 1987:315).

Secondly, Brueggemann describes a ‘captive God’ as giving the king ‘a monopoly so that no marginal person may approach this God except on the king’s terms’ (Brueggemann 2001:29). In eighteenth century Denmark-Norway the most evident expression of this control of God’s accessibility was the Conventicle Act (1741). In an introductory paragraph and seventeen subsequent articles the ordinance declared the intention to ‘*befordre en god Orden og Roelighed til Vores kiære og troe Undersaatters Beste*’ by setting out the boundaries for the practice of ‘*en sand Guds frygt*’, the administration of which belonged to ‘*ordentlig beskikkede Lærere*’ as opposed to lay people who ‘*forsømmer den Stand, Næring og ordentlige Handtering, som de ere udi*’ (Christian Rex, 1952:264-265).

3.2.3 Conclusion

This brief examination of Brueggemann's depiction of royal consciousness based on Solomon's monarchy as the dominant consciousness, out of which, and against which, the prophet speaks, indicates some interesting external similarities with the absolutist monarchy of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Denmark-Norway.

4. The alternative consciousness

4.1 The alternative community of Moses

In Brueggemann's paradigm, the counterpoint to the dominant consciousness that prophetic imagination dismantles is the alternative consciousness that prophetic imagination speaks into being. Brueggemann's model for the expression of alternative consciousness is 'the alternative community of Moses', which represented 'a radical break with Pharaoh's Egypt' (Brueggemann 2001:5).

Brueggemann describes how Moses dismantled the static religion of Pharaoh's Egypt by demonstrating through the means of the ten plagues (Exodus 7-11) that the Egyptian gods, epitomised by Pharaoh's self-representation as the incarnation of the sun god Ra, had no power and were thus not gods. The

legitimacy of the social reality constructed by Pharaoh's royal consciousness was thus destroyed as it was shown to 'appeal to sanctions that did not exist' (Brueggemann 2001:6). Opposed to Egypt's captive gods, Brueggemann describes the God of Moses as one who 'acts in lordly freedom, is extrapolated from no social reality and captive to no social perception but acts from his own person toward his own purposes' (p.6).

4.2 Religion of 'God's freedom'

It is the notion of 'a religion of God's freedom' that is the key concept for Brueggemann's understanding of the emergence of the alternative consciousness. He describes the new social reality that results from this consciousness as being so 'unprecedented, radical and inexplicable' that it could have had 'nothing less than a theological cause' (p.6). For Brueggemann this is the moment where prophecy demonstrates the imaginative power it draws from divine inspiration – in the speaking into being of a totally new reality 'formed and ordered from the inside of its [own] experience and confession' (p.5).

It is precisely the search for the cause of the 'new social reality' presented by the Haugian movement that has prompted historians, sociologists and economists to examine in such detail the socio-historical context from within which Hauge spoke and from out of which the Haugian movement arose, yet none reach right into the core of the matter – the language by which Hauge facilitated the 'theological cause' of the new consciousness. The closest intimation of a theological cause in the emergence of the new consciousness of Haugianism can be found in Nodvedt's discussion of Haugian involvement in Norwegian politics. He observes that 'the dynamic of Haugianism grew out of *the generating power of Christian freedom*, the dynamic which was obviously first religious, or shall we say spiritual, and then this same freedom expressed itself in the political, social and economic realms' (Nodvedt 1965:228, my italics).

4.3 Secondary aspects of alternative consciousness

Nodvedt's observation about the expression of religious freedom and the expression of freedom in the political, social and economic realms reflects Brueggemann's depiction of the means by which alternative consciousness

presents a radical break with royal consciousness. Brueggemann describes alternative consciousness as not only countering ‘the religion of static triumphalism’ with ‘the alternative religion of the freedom of God’, but as countering the ‘economics of affluence’ with the ‘economics of equality’; and ‘the politics of oppression and exploitation’ with ‘a politics of justice’ (Brueggemann 2001:31). We have already noted a number of studies describing the economic and political consequences of Haugianism, but to what extent can these consequences be adequately described as the ‘economics of equality’ and ‘a politics of justice’?

4.3.1 Economics of equality

In the years before his imprisonment Hauge helped establish many economic enterprises. The ideology on which these initiatives were based is expressed in Hauge’s words in *SB-Tillæg* (1798) which embody the idea of equality as opposed to individual affluence:

‘lad os arbejde, om vi formaaer, baade Nat og Dag, 2 Thess. 2 C. 9 v. [actually 2 Thess. 3:8] , saa om vi og kunde have at meddeele de Nødtørftige; men hertil skal vi ikke vorde menneskelige Trælle under Synden, i Gierrighed til os selv, eller føde andres umættelige Begiærlighed; thi at hielpe og staae vor Næste bie i al Livs Fare, maa især sigte til hans udødelige Siel’

(*Skr.* II 74, 2-8. The grammar in this quotation is Hauge’s own)

Although Hauge began by encouraging individuals to work hard and share their material possessions with those in need, by 1800 Hauge had extrapolated this ideology to community level, basing his thoughts on the example of the Early Church described in Acts 2:42-47.

The paper mill at Eiker is the prime example of Haugian community enterprise in action. The mill and its surrounding buildings were co-operatively owed, the workers lived on the premises with their families, and provision was made to employ those with disabilities and to care for those who were either too ill or too old to work (Magnus 1978:91ff). The paper mill at Fennefoss in Setesdal was established using Eiker as its model. This paper mill had one named owner but

was financed by co-operative effort and provided work and accommodation for a small community (Breistein 1955:132-133). Other Haugian initiatives included the iron works at Eeg in Kristansand, and the Svanøe and Strudshavn estates outside Bergen. These properties were all purchased with the help of loans raised through the Haugian network – a notable innovation in a country that did not have its own banking system (Breistein 1955:134, 150, 155).

4.3.2 Politics of justice

Studies of the Haugian movement also place emphasis on its political consequences. It is notable, in relation to Brueggemann's proposal of the inter-connection of religion, economics and politics, that the named owner of Fennefoss paper mill (Torkel Svenningsen Aasen) and the named owner of Svanøe (Ole Torjussen Helling) both served as Storting members for their particular district (Breistein 1955:134, 155). The involvement of *Haugianere* in politics was, however, a later consequence of their altered consciousness than their involvement in economic enterprise.

This delay in political involvement on the part of the *bondestand* after 1814 has been partly explained as the result of the lack of '*elementære forutsetninger*' for taking part in political life as compared with members of the *embetsstand*, i.e. the *bondestand* generally lacked schooling and experience in public debate (Magnus 1978:152). When 'life long Haugian' Ole Ueland assumed leadership of the *Bonde Parti* in 1833, Haugians formed a significant percentage of the *Storting* (Nodvedt 1965:227). The success of Haugians in entering politics has been attributed to the emphasis the religious revival had placed on reading and writing and on the opportunities it had given ordinary people to gain confidence in public speaking during religious meetings (Bang 1910:368).

The delay in the direct involvement of Haugians in politics is also attributable to the fact that, in contrast to his outspokenness in the area of economics, Hauge himself did not make any direct political statements against the Danish absolutism of his time. Nodvedt quotes *BVD-I* as an example of Hauge's loyal political intentions, but this passage can also be seen purely as a eulogy to the

king characteristic of the time - a rhetorical device designed to allay any concern on the part of officialdom regarding the subsequent content of the book:

‘vi [har] her i vore Lande, som vi ere udi, haft en god Regiering, som har haft største Omsorg for Landets Vel ... Saa er mit alvorlige Ønske og inderlige Bøn til den retfærdige Gud, at han for sin kiere Søn vilde sende sin hellig (sic) Aand til at fatte en alvorlig Bestræbelse at gjøre efter denne af Gud saa gode Regiering udgivne Befalinger. Gud høre og bønne mig for Jesu Christi Skyld! Amen’

(Skr. I 83, 4-6 and Skr. I 84, 6-10)

Hauge’s main political gesture, however inadvertent, was his criticism of the clergy which followed the above eulogy to the king. Brueggemann points out that by dismantling the religious legitimation of a dominant regime, the politics and economics of that system are automatically brought into question. He states that ‘criticism of religion is the ultimate criticism’ as the sociology of a culture is ‘derived from, legitimated by and reflective of its theology’ (p.8). It is precisely for this reason that Hauge’s outspokenness could never be seen by the Danish authorities as free of political consequence. This is reflected in the first charge of the arrest order that was issued against Hauge by the Danish Chancellery on 30 October 1804, in which he is accused of spreading *‘en lære som siktet til å vekke mistillit mod statens indretninger i almindelighet og den giestelige stand i særdeleshed’* (Koht 1934:57, Norborg 1970:94, Ording 1952:239).

Hauge’s intentions were primarily religious (Steen 1945), but as we have seen from Brueggemann’s depiction of the inter-relation of religion, politics and economics, the consequences of Hauge’s *‘religiøse agitasjon’* inadvertently opened the way for the emergence of a ‘new reality’ or ‘alternative community’ which was clearly manifested in the social organisation and economic practices of his followers and which was definitely outside the permissible norms of the Danish authorities (Falch 1993, Koht 1934). It is thus no surprise that the secondary charges in Hauge’s arrest order concerned perceived disruption to the social order caused by his teaching and concern as to economic practices that were novel, if not specifically illegal, at a time when Norway did not have its own bank (Ording 1952:239).

4.4 Conclusion

Brueggemann's depiction of the three inter-related aspects of his understanding of the alternative consciousness - the 'alternative religion of the freedom of God', the 'economics of equality', and the 'politics of justice and compassion' - is an applicable means of understanding the inner dynamics of the new social reality of Haugianism. This depiction also highlights the differences between the values of the Haugian movement and the dominant consciousness from which it emerged. Past studies have tended to focus on the objective and describable aspects of the social, economic and political reality of Haugianism, but have not examined the subjective nature of the prophetic language that allowed the emergence of a theology, which, in turn, permitted the development of such a new social reality.

5. Communities that nurture prophets and prophecy

Brueggemann contends that 'some social environments are more hospitable than others to prophets and are more likely to be the locus of their emergence' (p. *xvi*), the natural habitat of the prophet being in 'sub-communities that stand in tension with the dominant community in any political economy' which 'participate in the public life of the dominant community from a certain perspective and with a certain intention' (p. *xvi*).

He describes a sub-community which is predisposed to the emergence of prophets as having four characteristics:

1. 'A long and available memory that sinks the present generation deep into an identifiable past that is available in story and song.
2. An effective mode of discourse that is cherished across the generations, that is taken as distinctive, and is richly coded in ways that only insiders can know.
3. An available, expressed sense of pain that is owned and recited as a real social fact, that is visibly acknowledged in public way, and that is understood as unbearable in the long term.
4. An active practice of hope, a community that knows about promises yet to be kept, promises that stand in judgement on the present' (p. xvi).

These characteristics are clearly representative of OT Israel, but for the examination of Hauge's early writings within the constraints of Brueggemann's paradigm, but to what extent can it be argued that Hauge belonged to a sub-community predisposed to the characteristics Brueggemann considers essential for the nurture of prophets and prophecy?

5.1 The '*bondestand*' as a sub-community

A sub-community or 'minority group' can be defined as 'a group which holds minor status in an inter-group relationship, and resents the fact' (Munch 1954:74). The farming community of eighteenth-century Norway (*bondestand*) made up 96% of the population, but the political situation of the time was such

that this 96% of the population was administered by the remaining 4%. Thus according to some sociologists, the *bondestand*, to which Hauge belonged, could be considered as a sub-community despite their numerical superiority.

A brief initial examination of the literature indicates that Brueggemann's four preconditions for the nurture of prophecy in a sub-community existed to some degree in the *bondestand* of Hauge's time.

5.2 A long and available memory

Memory has played a key role in Norwegian popular culture from earliest times when the sagas were transmitted in oral as well as written form. Studies of literacy in Norway from the late seventeenth century onwards indicate that memory played an important part in the first reading campaigns (Guttormsson 1990:7-35). The memorization of key texts, such as Pontoppidan's *Sannhed til Gudfryktighed* became a requirement for the rite of confirmation, and these texts became part of the subconscious of the community over many generations (Furre 1993).

5.3 An inherited mode of discourse

The religious texts of seventeenth and eighteenth century Norway not only provided our particular sub-community with memory, but also with 'an effective mode of discourse that is cherished across the generations, that is taken as distinctive, and is richly coded in ways that only insiders can know' (p.xvi). In the late seventeenth century hymns were the richest source of '*fraser og*

formuleringer’ and provided their users with a more ready source of comfort and spiritual advice than the Bible, although the rise of Pietism in the mid-eighteenth century brought reading of the Bible to the fore (Schumacher 1993). Gundersen’s discussion of the intensive reading practices of that time suggests that readers internalized religious texts and used them as a representation and understanding of their experienced reality, and suggests that ‘*Hauges sjonglering med bibelsitater*’ is a complex set of signals to ‘*et publikum som kjenner kodene for det religiøse språket til bunns*’ (Gundersen 2003:56, my emphasis).

5.4 An expressed sense of pain

It is somewhat harder to demonstrate that the peasant class of eighteenth-century Norway had ‘an available, expressed sense of pain that is owned and recited as a real social fact, that is visibly acknowledged in public way, and that is understood as unbearable in the long term’ (Brueggemann 2001:xvi). One channel in popular culture for the expression of grievance was the production of material in the apocalyptic genre, which consisted mainly of pamphlets (*himmelbrev*), poems and songs that were hawked in the streets by peddlers (Tveitane 1972). Combined with his low social status, Hauge’s repeated usage of apocalyptic has led to his early texts being classified with apocalyptic ‘*skillingstrykk*’ as expressions of popular protest (Amundsen 1994, 1999).

5.5 An active practice of hope

‘An active practice of hope, a community that knows about promises yet to be kept, promises that stand in judgement on the present’ (p.xvi) is easy to identify in the history of Israel. This is not so easy to identify in the history of Norway,

although this kind of idea was expressed by some of Hauge's early twentieth century American biographers (see Section 3.1 above).

5.6 Conclusion

Although there has not been space here to do real justice to the depth of a topic such as the construction of the identity of the *bondestand* as a sub-community and its expression of cultural memory as complaint and hope, the investigation above indicates that Hauge's socio-historical context has the potential to be considered a prophecy nurturing context in accordance with Brueggemann's paradigm. As such, Hauge's texts could be considered a 'representative voice' of that sub-community and 'ideological statements evoked by and evoking specific forms of social action and policy, social authorization, and social criticism' (Brueggemann 2001:ix).

As mentioned in the Introduction to this chapter, Brueggemann's paradigm formed the fundamental starting point for the consideration of Hauge as a prophet and his early texts as prophecy, but it was subsequently found necessary to supplement his ideas about 'prophetic imagination' with Wright's ideas as to how prophetic speech alters the worldview of the listener (see Chapter 6, Sections 3 and 4). In this respect it must be understood that the close textual reading of Hauge's texts presented in this thesis is not dependent on the correspondence between ancient Israel and 17.-18.cent Norway. The discussion of the external similarities between these two cultures is provided as background that will not be applied directly in the textual readings later on in this thesis.

6. The inner functioning of prophetic imagination

As we have seen, essential to Brueggemann's understanding of prophecy as generative imagination is the supposition of two opposing kinds of reality – the dominant or 'royal' reality, and an alternative reality imagined and constituted by the utterance of the prophet. The act of prophetic imagination brought about in the utterance of the prophet moves the receptive receiver from the conscious realm of the dominant reality to that of the alternative reality. Brueggemann proposes that prophetic language precipitates this shift in consciousness by means of the coincident action of 'prophetic criticising' and 'prophetic energising' (Brueggemann 2001:9).

6.1 Prophetic criticism

Brueggemann describes the function of prophetic criticising as being 'to dismantle the dominant consciousness' (p.3). His primary example for the action of prophetic criticism is the delegitimisation of the Egyptian Empire as described in the Exodus narrative. Brueggemann identifies the moment of the dismantling of this empire as that point in the plague cycle where Pharaoh's magicians found they could not replicate the third plague (the plague of gnats, Exodus 8:17-18). The failure of the Egyptian magicians to match this and the subsequent actions of Moses demonstrated publicly that the imperial religion which legitimised the royal consciousness of Pharaoh's Egypt was powerless (p.11). Undermining the religious authority of that empire effectively brought down the political and economic systems which had their foundations in that religious authority. This is represented by the death of the first born, especially Pharaoh's son; and the collapse of the extensive building projects of Egypt which depended on the slave labour of the Israelites.

This aspect of prophetic criticism which dismantles the religious power of the dominant consciousness is demonstrated in Hauge's early texts by his criticism of the clergy. As we have seen, the clergy were the local representatives of a king who claimed his authority and right to rule as having been conferred on him by God himself. Criticism of the clergy was thus essentially a criticism of the king, and would have been considered to be a threat to the fabric of the State. The degree to which Hauge's criticism was seen as politically damaging is reflected in the ultimate issuing of the warrant for his arrest in 1804. This action reflects Brueggemann's comment that 'the dominant consciousness is grossly uncritical, cannot tolerate serious and fundamental criticism, and will go to great lengths to stop it' (Brueggemann 2001:4).

Besides overt criticism of the religious authority representing the dominant consciousness, Brueggemann depicts prophetic criticism as having the task of 'mobilising people to their real restless grief' (p.13). As 'the capacity to grieve' is not only an acknowledgement that 'things are not right', but also functions as the filing of a legal complaint (p.11), Brueggemann suggests that bringing hurt to public expression is the first step in 'the dismantling criticism that permits a new reality, theological and social, to emerge' (p.12). As royal consciousness characteristically will not hear or respond to such complaint, Brueggemann describes the grieving aspect of prophetic criticism as functioning both to nurture people away from petitioning a power that will not listen or respond (p.13) and to turn them towards a higher court where they perceive that their complaints are taken seriously: the higher court of heaven itself (p.23). This is the essence of the notion of a 'free' God who has not been co-opted by the dominant consciousness, and who is 'essential to marginal people if they are to have a legitimate standing against the oppressive orders of the day' (p.23, Lanternari 1965).

In Hauge we meet the combined expression of grief and legal complaint in the frequent use of the verb '*klage*'. In the first two examples below, complaint and grief are expressed over '*Guds Ords Arbeydere*' or the clergy:

‘Vi nu i vore Tider maae klage over, at Guds Ords Arbeydere [er lige de skalkagtige Arbeydere i Viingaarden, der tilsidst slog Sønnen ihjel, og vilde vendt Arven til sig, Math. 21 C. 38 v], der søger sin egen Ære, Nytte og Fornøjelse, [lige]som deres Gierninger taler bedre for dem, end deres Blade eller store Ord, uden Guds Kraft og Kierlighed kan gjøre, for den, der er kommen nær til Træet, oplader Øynene, og seer ingen Frugt’

(Skr. I 281)

‘Nu kan man klage med Propheten, Jer, 23 C., anlangende Propheterne: mit Hierte er førstyrret inden i mig: alle mine Been bæve for Herrens hellige Ords Skyld; thi Landet er fuld af Hoerkarle, og sørger for Forbandelse; thi deres Løb er ondt, og deres Magt er ikke Ret, da baade Præsten og Propheterne ere Øyenskalke’

(Skr. II 42, 7-12)

However, Hauge’s expression of grief and complaint not only concerns the clergy, but also the population in general:

‘En maae sukke og klage med Propheten Esaias i det 60 Cap: at Mørkhed skiuler Jorderige og Dumhed Folket’
(Skr. I 193, 3-4)

‘Jeg maae vel klage med Apostelen, at der er haarde Halse og uomskaarne Hierter og Øren der modstaaer den Hellig Aand’

(Skr. I 222, 3-5)

The intention of the expression of grief and complaint by the prophet is to awaken the same sense of grief and complaint in the receiver. In Hauge this awakened sense of dissatisfaction in the receptive receiver worked at two levels: firstly, it produced personal grief in the individual over the ‘condition of their soul’ resulting in a deep personal act of repentance that became a characteristic trait of Haugianism. Secondly, it produced an intense dissatisfaction with the religious authority figures of the time; this worked in conjunction with aspects of Hauge’s prophetic energising to generate the lay movement which emerged in Norway at the beginning of the nineteenth century (see Chapter 7).

To awaken grief and complaint in the receiver, Brueggemann stresses that the prophetic criticism of the prophet must be able to cut through the numbness of the imagination of individuals who have been 'so assaulted and co-opted by the royal consciousness that [they] have been robbed of the power or courage to think an alternative thought' (Brueggemann 2001:39). In this respect it is interesting to note that Lutheran belief has tended to nurture a sense of conformity (managed belief and behaviour) that has become inherent in Norwegian identity, and it was against this way of thinking and being that Hauge's prophetic utterance had to battle (Stenius 1997).

Developing this idea of prophetic criticism breaking through cultural numbness, Brueggemann draws on the work of Lifton, who proposes that it is the presence of a 'symbol gap' in a culture that permits the propagation of the kind of numbness produced by royal consciousness (Lifton and Olson, 1974:137, in Brueggemann 2001:43). Brueggemann proposes that it is royal consciousness itself that nullifies the symbols which allow a people 'to experience their own experience' and think an alternative thought (Brueggemann 2001: 43ff). Thus the task of prophetic criticism is also presented as being to 'offer symbols that are adequate to confront the massiveness of the experience that evokes numbness and requires denial' (p.45). Brueggemann emphasises that these symbols are not invented by the prophet, but are symbols from a culture's historical past that are reactivated in the prophetic utterance. In the case of Israel, the primary cultural symbol reactivated by the later OT prophets is the Exodus event; a symbol which has been appropriated and reactivated in various periods of Christian history to prophetic effect (p.45, Lowance Jnr. 1980, Reid 1979, 1983).

6.2 Prophetic energising

Prophetic energising is the second of the two functional elements of prophetic imagination; it works in tandem with prophetic criticism to produce an alternative consciousness that 'serves to energise persons and communities by its promise of another time and situation to which the community of faith may move' (p.3). Whereas the only re-orientation possible within royal consciousness is 'a moving of the pieces into new patterns' (p.14) that leads people 'to despair

about the power to move towards new life' (p.59), Brueggemann sees prophetic energising as being characterised by *hope* in that 'we are energised not by that which we already possess but by that which is promised and about to be given' (p.14). Hope is defined here as 'the refusal to accept the reading of reality that is the majority opinion' and as a subversive power that dares call into question the 'realized eschatology' of the royal consciousness by postulating the possibility of alternative futures (pp.60-65).

In the same way that prophetic criticizing counters the *numbness* of those caught in the royal consciousness that denies the possibility of endings, prophetic energizing is depicted as countering the *despair* inherent in a royal consciousness that denies the possibility of alternative futures and new beginnings - particularly in relation to the denial of opportunity for ordinary people to prosper, and in restricting speech (p.61, Kautsky 1982:7ff).

Brueggemann suggests that prophetic energizing counters the despair that results from living under royal consciousness in three ways, all of which reflect the tasks of prophetic criticism.

Prophetic energising acts by:

1. 'the offering of symbols that are adequate to contradict a situation of hopelessness in which newness is unthinkable' (p.63)
2. 'bringing to public expression those very hopes and yearnings that have been denied so long and suppressed so deeply we do not know they are there' (p.65)
3. 'speaking metaphorically about hope, but concretely about the real newness that comes to us and redefines our situation. (p.67)

cf. prophetic criticism, which acts to:

1. 'to reactivate out of [our] historical past symbols that always have been vehicles for redemptive honesty' (p.45)
2. 'to bring to expression hurts and fears which have been denied for so long and suppressed so deeply we do not know they are there' (p.45)

3. 'to speak metaphorically but concretely about the real deathliness that hovers over us and gnaws within us' (p.46)

According to Brueggemann, energising prophetic speech that focuses on hope has its own peculiar characteristics: it is not 'explanatory and scientifically argumentative', but 'lyrical in the sense that it touches the hopeless person at many different points' (p.65, see also Sandy 2002). It is also 'primally theological' (sic) in that it is expressed in 'the language of covenant between a personal God and a community' (p.65). Brueggemann calls this use of language an 'absurd practice', as that is indeed how prophetic speech appears in comparison to the rational rhetoric of the dominant consciousness – a fact acknowledged by Hauge in his first text (*Skr.* I 78, 16-19), who understood that the 'wisdom of God was folly to the world' and vice versa (c.f. 1 Cor. 1:25, Brueggemann 2001:xxi).

The dialectic nature of the paradigm 'prophetic imagination' can be summarised as shown below:

Prophetic criticizing

Uses language of *grief*

Public expression of hurts and fears

Reactivates (historical) symbols that have been 'vehicles of redemptive honesty'

Metaphorical expression of 'deathliness'

Concrete expression of ending

Counters the *numbness* generated by royal consciousness

Prophetic energizing

Uses language of *hope*

Public expression of hopes and yearnings

Offers (historical) symbols adequate to contradict a situation of hopelessness

Metaphorical expression of hope

Concrete expression of real newness

Counters *despair* generated by royal consciousness

Brueggemann concludes his presentation of the paradigm of prophetic imagination by underlining that prophetic speech does not produce the

‘immediate surrender’ of the dominant consciousness; the prophet has the task of ‘sparking the imagination’ of his hearers and ‘creating new standing ground’ from which they can venture forth themselves in the due course of time (p.77).

7. Looking for prophetic imagination in Hauge

Subsequent to describing the work done to date on Hauge and why it might be fruitful to consider his texts as prophecy, and having presented Brueggemann’s paradigm ‘prophetic imagination’ with a discussion of its suitability for use in Hauge’s context, the question naturally arises as to how to go about the search for prophetic imagination in Hauge’s early texts. As we have seen, prophetic imagination consists of the co-operative action between prophetic criticising and prophetic energising which moves the receiver of prophetic utterance from defining their reality from within the framework of the dominant consciousness to defining their reality within the framework of an alternative consciousness. Furthermore, Brueggemann makes it clear that the inner working of both prophetic criticism and prophetic energising depends on the reactivation by the prophet’s utterance of symbols from the culture’s historical past. This suggested a two step approach to the identification of prophetic imagination in Hauge’s early texts: first, the identification of passages in the texts which demonstrated prophetic criticising and prophetic energising (Chapters 3-5); and secondly, the identification of reactivated symbols in the passages shown to demonstrate each prophetic function (Chapter 6-7). The approach by which the symbols involved in Hauge’s prophetic criticism and prophetic energising were identified is presented in Chapter 6. At the beginning of the research into the action of Hauge’s prophetic speech, the immediate issue was to find a suitable means of identifying passages which adequately demonstrated prophetic criticism and prophetic energising.

7.1 Looking for prophetic criticising and energising

At first it was considered that sections of Hauge’s text functioning as prophetic criticism and prophetic energising might be identified by looking for indications of the ‘language of grief’ and ‘language of hope’ that Brueggemann describes as characterising each of the functions respectively. Although a word search of the

early texts using various significations of ‘grief’ and ‘hope’ identified these emotions in Hauge’s writing, often in conjunction with words quoted from the OT prophets (see Section 1.6.1 above), this approach did not provide an accurate means of delineating the criticising parts of the text from the energising parts. The same problem was encountered by searching the texts for Hauge’s ‘public expression of hurts and fears’ and his ‘public expression of hopes and yearnings’. It became clear that what was required was a more objective means of dividing Hauge’s texts in to manageable sections that were demonstrably criticising or energising in nature.

A search of the literature provided two descriptions of prophetic speech that could possibly be used as a basis for dividing Hauge’s texts into manageable sections: Mark Cartledge’s description of contemporary Charismatic Christian prophecy (Cartledge 1994) and David Aune’s description of OT and NT forms of prophecy (Aune 1983).

7.1.1 Cartledge’s description of contemporary prophecy

Cartledge’s work is based on the examination of a variety of late twentieth-century Christian prophecies from the English Charismatic tradition which were either printed in magazines or transcribed from audio recordings of church services. He found that the prophecies usually began with a formulaic phrase, such as ‘The Lord says, “My children ...etc.”’ (Cartledge 1994:108), and generally consisted of five ‘elements’ that tended to occur in a set order (p.110):

1. Perspective: a presentation of how God understands the situation that the prophecy addresses
2. Prescription: on the basis of the perspective element, the prophecy contains an exhortation – usually a call to repentance or a moral injunction
3. Prediction: a statement of future consequence commonly linked to God’s judgement for failing to carry out the prescriptive course of action
4. Promise: an optional element, the fulfilment of which is usually dependant on fulfilling the prescriptive element
5. Placation: most prophecies end with a message of hope or comfort, assuring the hearer of God’s concern

In addition, Cartledge found that these prophecies were characterised by a central metaphor (p.110) and used language containing biblical allusions (p.109). This description of prophetic speech had some appeal, as it was clear that the Perspective, Prescription and Prediction elements would probably signal prophetic criticising, and the Promise and Placation elements would probably signal prophetic energising.

Cartledge's description of the elements of prophetic speech exhibited by contemporary Charismatic Christian prophecy was thus used on a trial basis as a tool to examine prophetic speech in *BVD-3*, *BVD-Formaning*, *BVD-Efterskrift* and *BVD-Bidrag*. The various elements of prophetic speech described by Cartledge were highlighted in five different font colours in electronic copies of each of these four chapters of *BVD* and a cursory analysis was made. The results for *BVD-3* were very encouraging. Language correlating to all five of the elements of prophetic speech described by Cartledge was present. The sections of text corresponding to these elements occurred in the predicted order, a central metaphor was present, and the language contained biblical allusion.

The situation was considerably different, however, when Cartledge's criteria for identifying elements of prophetic speech were applied to the remaining three chapters of *BVD* used in the trial. All demonstrated sections which conformed to the characteristics of the five elements of prophetic speech, but the order in which these sections of text occurred became increasingly random in correlation with the length of the chapter under consideration. The number of metaphors used in each chapter also increased with chapter length such that it became difficult to determine which one was the central metaphor in any particular case. Finally, Hauge's frequent quotation of Scripture made Cartledge's notion that 'prophecy alludes to biblical language' impossible to apply as a means of stating with any certainty that the text concerned was actually prophecy. It therefore became clear that Cartledge's description of prophecy was best suited to short, oral prophecies (later transcribed for circulation) spoken in an environment where oral prophecy is an accepted practice among the assembled individuals. This is in direct contrast to Hauge's situation: his writings were longer than the prophecies described by Cartledge; they were not originally oral proclamations,

but written prophecy; and were produced in an environment where prophetic speech was not an accepted norm within the conventional structures of the Church, but an activity confined to powerless minorities at the margins of society.

The failure of Cartledge's description of prophetic speech as a suitable means for dividing Hauge's texts into manageable segments which corresponded to prophetic criticising or prophetic energising raised doubts concerning the practicability of the research project, and particularly the question as to whether Hauge's relatively long written texts could be considered to be prophecy at all. This concern prompted an investigation into finding a valid means of identifying a text as prophetic speech or as containing prophetic speech, and a more effective means of dividing Hauge's texts into manageable sections which might demonstrate prophetic criticising or prophetic energising.

7.1.2 Aune's description of biblical prophecy

The breakthrough regarding the search for a valid means of identifying prophetic speech in Hauge's texts, and a means by which these texts could be broken down into manageable sections, came from an examination of David Aune's description of OT and NT speech in *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (1983). The key issues in Aune's work in relation to looking at Hauge's early texts as prophecy were:

1. Aune's analysis of long, written texts, rather than short transcriptions of oral proclamations
2. His statement that the identification of 'elements of prophetic speech' in a text (c.f. Cartledge) was not a conclusive sign that a text was prophecy or contained prophecy, as any text of religious origin could contain such elements
3. His presentation of an accurate means of classifying a whole text as prophecy, or locating the presence of prophetic speech in a longer text, by the identification of what are termed 'framing devices' (c.f. the formulaic introductions identified by Cartledge)

4. The identification of regular groupings and arrangements of elements of prophetic speech into readily recognisable forms of prophetic speech which clearly demonstrate either criticising or energising characteristics

The above points resulted in a two stage inspection of Hauge's four early texts. Firstly, the examination of the texts for framing devices, the presence of which would contribute to reconciling the categorisation of these texts or parts of these text as prophecy. Secondly, dependent on the success of the first stage of the investigation, the identification of Aune's elements of prophetic speech in Hauge's early texts and the subsequent identification of any regular forms of prophetic speech in Hauge by a comparison of the arrangement of the elements of prophetic speech with the regular forms of biblical prophecy classified by Aune. It was hoped that success in the second stage of the investigation would identify locations within Hauge's early texts which could be categorised conclusively as criticising or energising forms of prophetic speech and that these locations would provide clues as to the symbols upon which Hauge's prophetic imagination depended.

In both events the investigation of Hauge's texts as prophecy using Aune's criteria proved successful. The results of the search for framing devices and their role in legitimating Hauge's early texts as prophecy are presented in Chapter 3. The results of the identification of specific forms of prophetic speech and the categorisation of these forms as prophetic criticism and prophetic energising are presented in Chapter 4.

Chapter 3: The Identification and Legitimation of Hauge's Prophetic Speech

1. Introduction

Hans Nielsen Hauge has been described in the literature as a prophet, and we have concluded that, according to Brueggemann's paradigm 'prophetic imagination', Hauge's socio-historical context was conducive to prophecy. This chapter describes suitable criteria for the determination of the presence of prophetic speech in a text and applies these criteria to Hauge's texts in order to ascertain if they can be called prophecy and whether the literature's unqualified description of Hauge as a prophet is accurate.

The literature concerning the identification of prophetic speech is sparse. Cartledge has described the kind of contemporary Christian prophecy emerging in the modern Charismatic tradition as exhibiting specific characteristics and as containing various formal elements (Cartledge 1994, see Chapter 2, Section 7.1.1). These characteristics and elements demonstrated by contemporary Charismatic prophecy are all found in Hauge's early texts. Aune has argued, however, that the presence or accumulation of such stylistic and formal elements in a text is insufficient to identify the text as 'oracular' due to the fact that many forms of Christian discourse demonstrate the characteristics of Christian prophecy (Aune 1983: 338). Aune concludes that 'only the presence of formal framing devices' can be deemed a sufficient indication of whether a statement is prophetic or not. The fact that Christian prophetic speech is often indistinguishable from other types of Christian discourse indicates that its 'distinctive feature is not so much its content or form, but its *supernatural origin*' (p.388, my emphasis). Besides signalling the presence of prophetic speech, framing devices serve to legitimate that speech as prophecy by pointing to its supernatural origin.

In his study of early Christian prophecy, Aune identified six kinds of framing devices: messenger formulas, commission formulas, proclamation formulas, legitimation formulas, oath formulas and the 'mystery' formula, although he did not intend the designation 'formula' to mean 'unvarying expressions' (p.328). Aune also found that framing devices tended to introduce or conclude prophetic speech, although some also punctuate the text (p.317).

A cursory examination of the contemporary Christian prophecies described by Cartledge shows that they demonstrate functional equivalents of the formal framing devices described by Aune, and that these equivalents are generally found at the beginning and conclusion of the prophecies. It therefore seemed reasonable to conclude that the presence of suitably located functional equivalents in Hauge's texts would be sufficient to classify his speech as prophecy and give weight to the subsequent identification of various forms of prophetic speech in his texts.

2. Brief description of framing devices

2.1 Messenger formulas

Messenger formulas function 'to alert the hearer to the fact that the message borne by the prophet is not his own, but originates with a supernatural being' (Aune 1983:328). The basic form uses a verb of utterance and denotation of the divine speaker followed by direct speech, e.g. 'Thus says the Lord, "I ..."', although messenger formulas can announce the reported speech of a divine being. Other expressions also fulfill the messenger function; these may, for example, take the form of any combination of the following: '(by /through /in) the (word of /name of) (the Lord / Jesus / the Spirit)' (p.329). These expressions meet the requirement of authorising the speech of a divine being given in the prophet's own person, and are often supplemented by an indication of the inspired state of the messenger (p.333-334).

2.2 Commission formulas

Commission formulas are common in OT prophecy and follow variations on the pattern: ‘Say to X, “Thus says Y”’. A similar formula occurs in early Christian prophecy, but also includes the mandate to ‘Go and write’. A functional variation of this formula includes the prophetic call narrative and could include other communication by the messenger of a divine commission to speak or write, the assignment of a message to convey, or the charge of a task to undertake (Aune 1983:90).

2.3 Proclamation formulas

Proclamation devices are generally found at the beginning or end of a prophetic speech. They are ‘injunctions to audiences to pay attention to the message’ and use imperative verbs meaning ‘listen’ or ‘pay attention’. The audience may be exhorted to ‘listen not to me but to X’, where X is God, Jesus or the Holy Spirit (Aune 1983:331).

2.4 Legitimation formulas

Legitimation formulas are closely related to messenger and commission formulas. They have some overlap with oath formulas (see Section 2.5 below) in that they emphasise the truth and often the ‘completeness’ of the oracle, but lack the sense of legal testimony. Legitimation formulas usually occur at the end of an oracle and form what Aune has termed ‘a prophetic signature’ which is sometimes intensified with threats or promises (Aune 1983: 332-333).

2.5 Oath formulas

Oath formulas function ‘to ensure truthfulness of a given statement or deposition’. Key to this task is the use of verbs ‘witness’, ‘testify’ and their cognates, all of which have a legal connotation (Aune 1983: 333).

2.6 The ‘mystery’ formula

The notion of ‘mystery’ is common in early Christian apocalyptic texts and implies special knowledge into deep or hidden truths of God revealed by divine insight (Aune 1983: 333). The ‘mystery’ formula ‘Behold I tell you a mystery +

oracle' is found in two early Christian prophecies. Although it is not expected to find this formula in Hauge's texts, Hauge's interest in apocalyptic symbolism indicates that functional equivalents may exist.

3. Framing devices in Hauge's early works

3.1 Location and distribution

Framing devices tend to be situated at the beginning and end of oracular material. An examination of Hauge's major pre-1800 texts found functional equivalents of Aune's framing devices present in all four. These were found to be concentrated in the first book. This finding is not surprising; one would expect Hauge to put emphasis on the authorisation of his speech in his first book, as he recognised that he was not from the stratum of society authorised to give utterance to the religious speech his book contained (*Skr.* I 78, 11-13).

Considering each of Hauge's first four books separately, framing devices were found mainly in the prefaces and postscripts. Each of these prefaces and postscripts themselves act as 'meta'-framing devices which legitimate Hauge's speech within each book as prophecy.

In Hauge's first book, *Betragtning over Verdens Daarlighed* (*BVD*) (Christiania, 1796), framing devices were found at the beginning and end of each chapter, and in *Formaning*, which acts as a bridge between the five main chapters of the book and the appended autobiography (*Løbebanen*). The second edition of *BVD* (Bergen, 1798) includes a further preface (*Forerindring*) and postscript (*Bidrag*), both containing a plethora of framing devices which serve to re-establish the authority of Hauge's prophetic speech, presumably in response to the public criticism of the first edition in 1796.

The framing devices in Hauge's second book, *Guds Viisdom* (*GV*) (Christiania, 1796), are concentrated in the preface (*GV-Fortale*). It appears Hauge considered that he had legitimated his speech effectively six months earlier in

BVD, and having reminded his audience of that legitimation in *GV-Fortale*, he then presented his prophetic message. Each chapter has an introductory paragraph and a concluding prayer. These act as formal frames, but they do not contain framing devices. They do however contain various forms of prophetic speech which will be discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis. Some framing devices punctuate *GV-4*, in which Hauge openly criticises the clergy of his day. Such overt criticism presumably necessitated Hauge restating his divine prerogative to make such pronouncements.

The second edition of *GV* (Christiania, 1799) contains an additional preface (*Forerinding*) and postscript (*Tilskrift*), which, as in *BVD*, contain a concentration of framing devices re-legitimising Hauge's speech in the light of public criticism received in the three years since the first edition. *GV-Tilskrift* contains a commission device which appropriates the call narratives of four OT prophets.

Hauge's third book, *En Sandheds Bekiendelse om en Saligheds Sag* (*SB*) (Christiania, 1798) was written as the result of his first arrest on 26 December 1797. The preface, *Til Læseren*, has a high concentration of framing devices which act to defend and justify his speech, both past and present. Both of the two chapters contain oath devices which testify to the truth of his message, and reflect the title of the book. The oath devices in the second chapter blend a 'speaking the truth' motif with a 'martyr' motif to testify to the validity of Hauge's prophetic calling. The rationale for this 'proof' is provided by the syllogism 'prophets are persecuted for speaking God's truth, I am being persecuted for speaking God's truth, thus I am a prophet who is speaking God's truth'.

Hauge's fourth book, *De Eenfoldiges Lære og Afmægtiges Styrke* (*EL*) (Bergen, 1798), was published as the result of Hauge's second and third arrests in Christiania in May and June 1798. The preface has a concentration of framing devices which act retrospectively to legitimate his speech in *BVD*, *GV*, *SB*, as

well as legitimating his speech in the text that follows. The two chapters contain no framing devices. The postscript, *Tillæg med Overbeviisning*, is a severe criticism of the clergy and, in its fourth edition, was cited as one reason behind the warrant for Hauge's final arrest in October 1804 (Mannsåker 1948:14). Unsurprisingly, *Tillæg* contains framing devices, but these now serve not only to legitimise Hauge's own speech, but also the speech of the members of the lay movement he had initiated.

The distribution of framing devices in Hauge's early texts indicates that after an initial legitimisation of his speech in *BVD*, he tended to restate that authorisation only in the prefaces and postscripts of subsequent books or new editions of past books. In the books published after Hauge's first arrest, the framing devices shift from establishing legitimation for his speech by indicating its divine source and inspiration, to defending that speech by using a preponderance of oath devices. This is paralleled by the growing use of commission devices, which not only increasingly assert Hauge's calling both in terms of their length and the gravity of their content, but also reflect his own mounting prophetic consciousness.

3.2 Messenger formulas

3.2.1 God speaks

Messenger formulas function to indicate that a prophetic message originates from a divine being. The most effective means of achieving this is to pronounce the message as the direct or reported speech of that being. To this end Hauge uses expressions such as '*Gud / Christus siger*', or other verbs of speaking, e.g. '*klager*' (complains) or '*befaler*' (commands). Hauge does not follow these verbs with original words, but with quotations from the Bible. In the fifty two usages of '*Christus siger*' in *BVD*, each is followed by a quotation from the gospels, often qualified by a reference:

*‘hos Johannes 8de [39 V.] **siger Christus**: Vare I Abrahams Børn, da gjorde I Abrahams Gierninger, men nu søge I efter at slaae mig ihjel, som er et Menneske der haver sagt eder Sandheden’*

(Skr. I 87, 1-4)

If God is depicted as speaking, the reference is usually from the OT:

*‘saa **siger Gud** hos Propheten Jeremias [2 C. 30 V.]: “Jeg slog eder, I vilde ikke føle det, det er: I vil ikke forbedre eder ved min Straf”.’*

(Skr. I 86, 15-17)

On first reading it would be simple to assume that Hauge was using the formula ‘*Christus / Gud siger*’ to introduce a proof text to support his argument with material from an authoritative source. Hauge does quote the apostles twenty two times to this effect in *BVD*, along with authorities like Martin Luther, Johann Arndt, Peder Dass, and Eric Pontoppidan, e.g.

*‘men **Apostelen Jacob siger**: at Troe uden Gierninger er død [2 C., 26 V.]’*

(Skr. I 87, 35 – Skr. I 88, 1)

*‘det er som **Lutherus siger**: vi maae ikke tænke at Satan er bedre nu end før’*

(Skr. I 79, 16-18)

There are also instances where Hauge quotes Jesus’ words as an authoritative proof rather than using them as a prophetic utterance, e.g.

‘det vil jeg kraftigere bevise med de Ord Jesus siger hos Matthæum 7 Cap. [13 - 20V.], hvor han taler om den snævre og brede Port og Vej, og siden om de falske Lærere og deres Frugter.’¹

(Skr. I 88, 10-13)

However, despite being followed by a direct quote from the Bible, or an allusion to a Bible passage, the formula *‘Christus / Gud siger hos [biblical reference /name of prophet]: “...”*’ does act as a messenger formula for prophetic speech in Hauge because of the particular hermeneutic he uses in his approach to the biblical text. This hermeneutic has been called a ‘prophetic’ hermeneutic (Reid 1983) or a ‘charismatic’ hermeneutic (Stibbe 1998). Use of this hermeneutic involves an inspired reading of the biblical text such that words spoken by the divine being in the past historical context are perceived as being spoken directly to the reader’s present context. The subjective nature of this ‘experiential’ hermeneutic has exposed it to criticism, not only in Hauge’s time (Skr I 153, 15-17), but also in the present (Brow 2004). Nevertheless, it is key to understanding the effectiveness of Hauge’s speech in his own context.

The way this prophetic hermeneutic activates Hauge’s messenger formula beyond the level of introducing a logical proof by relating it to present circumstances can be shown by looking at the context of the previously mentioned example from *Skr. I 88* :

Messenger formula: *‘Christus siger:*

Prophetic word: *I opæde Enkers Huuse og tage Ære af hverandre [Matth. 23 C., 14 V.],*

Present experience: *det er: naar nogen dør, saa skal en Sum Penge ud for at dømme Siælen salig, de Efterlevende til trøst, det bliver, som*

Messenger formula: *der staaer hos Propheten Esaias [3 C., 12 V.]:*

¹ See also *Skr. I 147, 5-7* and *Skr. I 197, 26-27*

- Prophetic word: *Mit Folk! de som prise dig salig, de forføre[r] dig.²*
- Present experience: ***Jeg erfarer** og veed,*
- Apocalyptic: *at de Græshopper der stikker som skorpioner og haver Guld kroner paa sine Hoveder, og Ansigt er som Menneskers Ansigt i Aabenbaringens 9de Cap., det er hykkelske og falske Lærere, som ikke skal skade Trærne eller noget Grønt, men Menneskene,*
- Present experience: *hvilke har saadan Magt **nu**,*
- Apocalyptic: *saa det er forskrækkeligt; thi om nogen anden vil læge deres forgiftige Saar, saa forbyder dem det;*
- Present experience: ***jeg erfarer** ogsaa i dette at det er som*
- Messenger formula: ***Christus siger:***
- Prophetic word: *at de lukker Himmeriges Dør til for andre og selv vil de ikke gaae derind [Matth. 23 C., 13 V.],*
- Proof: ***det vil jeg kraftigere bevise med de Ord Jesus siger hos Matthæum 7 Cap., [13 -20 V.]** hvor han taler om den snævre og brede Port og Vej, og siden om de falske Lærere og deres Frugter.'*

(Skr. I 87, 32 - Skr. I 88, 13)

Using 'Christus siger' and Matt. 23:14, Hauge transfers Jesus' criticism of the Pharisees directly to the clergy of his own day, relating it to present experience by referring to the practice of the 'likpreken' (Gilje and Rasmussen 2002:189ff). This is followed by a prophetic word to the people about the clergy which uses Is. 9:16 with 'der staaer hos Propheten Esaias' as a messenger formula. After an interlude of apocalyptic interpretation which relates to the present context

² See also Is. 9:16 and Skr. I 183.

Hauge again prophesies about the clergy using '*Christus siger*' and Matt. 23:13 and then follows this with Matt. 7:13-20 used as a proof text.

The reason why Hauge follows his messenger formulas with words drawn directly from the Bible is that in his context the Bible had more authority as a source of revelation for the hearer than an unmediated message from God.³ In contexts where continuing revelation or direct inspiration were doctrinally acceptable (e.g. the Quaker context of George Fox), as opposed to being mainly biblical quotations, prophecy does take on original composition although it characteristically retains biblical language and allusions (Zulick 2003:202).

Careful examination of Hauge's expression of God speaking in his own person in the form of the quotation of passages from the Bible does however allow the identification of some prophetic speech of original composition. These expressions typically take the form of expansions on the biblical text which Hauge has used to allow God to speak. In one case Hauge uses ten successive messenger devices followed by biblical quotations before expanding the final quotation to bring God's direct message to the reader in original words which contain biblical allusions:

10th messenger device:	<i>'Og da siger Herren:</i>
Announcement of judgement:	<i>Jeg vil udslette dem af Jorden [1 Mose 6 C., 7 V.],</i>
Transition device:	<i>det er: at</i>
Announcement of judgement: (Hauge)	<i>som den almægtige, retfærdige Gud haver bundet Dievelen med Mørkheds Lænker, at han skal ikke undkomme paa Dømmens-Dag, saa veed han og at binde onde Mennesker i sin Tid og udslette dem</i>

³ 'Maa man da ikke grunde sin Tro og Levnet paa umiddelbare Aabenbaringer, Drømme, egen Fornufts Indbildning, andre Menneskers Myndighed og Exempler, gamle Mening, Ordsprog, Vedtægt og Sædvane eller noget Saadant? Nei, derpaa grundes ingen sand Tro og Lydighed, men Overtro, Ugudlighed and selvudvalgt Dyrkelese, som er Gud imot', (Forklaring, Question 16).

af Jorden og da belønne dem for sit onde, hvilket vi til Skræk og Afskye for os vil betragte dem som saaledes har levet, saa vi kan blive kloge i andres Skade,

Legitimation device: *Amen.'*

(Skr. I 180, 30 – Skr. I 181, 24)

3.2.2 Hauge speaks

Despite the doctrinal limitations on prophetic speech in Hauge's context, there are instances where Hauge speaks God's message in his own person and in original words rather than as a biblical quotation after a messenger formula. However, even in these cases the prophetic words are allusions to or interpretations of parts of the biblical text. The earliest example is found in *BVD-3* (*Skr. I 86, 17-25*):

Messenger formula: *'Dette klager Gud saa inderlig over,*

Announcement of judgement: *thi nu hører de fleste med den*
(apocalyptic imagery) *store Hore, efter Aabenbaringens 17de Cap., som er al Ondskab og Ugudelighed;*

Messenger formula: *jeg vidner da frit for alle,*
(with oath device)

Announcement of Judgement: *at han [Gud] staaer med sit Sverd*
(apocalyptic imagery) *og vil slaae til med sin langmodige Retfærdighed.'*

(Skr. I 86, 17-25)

The first prophetic announcement uses imagery from Rev. 17, a quotation of the reference for legitimation and authorisation, followed by a brief 'prophetic' exegesis. The words of the second prophetic announcement are Hauge's own. He uses imagery from Rev. 19:15a, and his allusion to God's character is consistent with that found in the Bible, although the term '*langmodig Retfærdighed*' is not a biblical expression.

Another means by which Hauge prophesies in his own person involves him appropriating the words of a prophet or apostle, with the messenger formula ‘(Jeg / man) maa (sige / klage) med (Apostelen / Propheten / Jesus) at ...’, e.g.

‘jeg maae vel klage med Apostelen, at der er haarde Halse og uomskaarne Hierter og Øren der modstaaer den Hellig[e] Aand ’

(Skr. I 222, 3-5)

‘hvor maae en sukke og klage med Propheten Esaias i det 60 Cap: at Mørkhed skiuler Jorderige og Dumhed Folket’

(Skr. I 193,3-4)

Hauge’s messenger formulas are idiosyncratic, yet they allow him to signal and authorise the divine origin of his message in a context which did not sanction unmediated speech from God.

3.3 Commission formulas

Commission formulas in Hauge do not follow the pattern described by Aune, but various distinctive motifs function to indicate Hauge’s divine commission to speak and write. Hauge made no overt mention of his commission until December 1799, not even in *Løbebanen* (Kvammen 1971:24). The most quoted reasons for this are that Hauge did not want to expose himself to ridicule by describing his mystical conversion experience, and that he did not want the weak-minded to use his experience as a prototype for true repentance (Skr. I 236, 27-33). Hauge’s conversion experience has been the subject of much debate (Dale 1942, Danbolt 1971, Koch 1959, Seierstad 1946), but our concern is simply the means by which he communicated his commission in his early texts. Although some of Hauge’s encrypted references to his commission can only be recognized in the light of his later biographies,⁴ there are commissioning devices

⁴ *Det aandelige Livets Løb og Strid*, 1804 (Skr. IV 4, 18 – Skr. IV 5, 33), and *Religiøse Følelser og deres Værd*, 1817 (Skr. VI 126, 20 - Skr. VI 127, 22). A prolepsis of the conversion narrative in *Religiøse Følelser* can be found in Skr. I 78, 25-27, and Skr. I 79, 2-6.

that can be identified independently; these include terms which encompass the notion of commission, and the construction of prophetic call narratives.

3.3.1 Commission motifs

Hauge uses various figurative terms to refer to his divine commission: *Liggendefæ* (possessions / property); *Befalning* / *befaler* (command); *betroet Gods* (entrusted goods); *en Pund at aagre med* (an entrusted ‘talent’ to maximize); *Ærende* (errand / task);⁵ and *Vidnesbyrd* (a testimony).⁶ The majority are derived from the stewardship parables of Jesus (Matt. 13:52; Matt. 25:14-30) in which a servant is entrusted with the master’s property and expected to manage it in his absence such that when the master returns the initial investment has multiplied. Hauge considered he had been entrusted with a message and a task to perform by God on his behalf before Jesus’ ‘return’. This understanding is a reflection of the apocalyptic urgency in Hauge’s early texts.

Hauge’s commission is given authoritative emphasis by his use of *Befalning* / *befale* (command). At no point does Hauge describe himself as directly commanded by God to fulfil the entrusted commission, but he appropriates for himself various directives from the Bible which pertain to the necessity of bringing the message of salvation to each individual. These include words from OT prophets, besides various commands spoken by Jesus.

All these commission motifs occur in different combinations in the various commission passages located in the prefaces and postscripts of Hauge’s early texts. Two key passages are examined below.

3.3.1a ‘*det betroede Pund*’

In the first example shown below, Hauge takes God’s words spoken through Ezekiel and the words of Jesus as a direct commission to himself and introduces ‘*Pund*’ to represent this commission. The final reference from Paul sums up the criticising (*paamindre*) and energising (*opmuntre*) facets of the prophetic task:

⁵ *Skr.* II 35, 35

⁶ *Skr.* I 125, 35ff and *Skr.* II 33, 22-23

- Legitimation: *‘Saa seer jeg i den hellige Skrift Bibelen, at der staaer hos Ezechiel i det 3die Cap [18 v.]:*
- Command: *Naar jeg siger til den Ugudelige: du skal visselig døe og du ikke paaminder ham, da skal den Ugudelige døe i sin Misgierning, men jeg vil kræve hans Blod af din Haand⁷*
- Appropriated command: *... denne Befalning angaae enhver, og derfor ogsaa mig;*
- Legitimation: *thi jeg seer **Christi Befalning** hos Lucas i det 22de Cap. [32 V.]:*
- Appropriated command: *naar du eengang omvender dig, da styrk dine Brødre,*
- Legitimation: *og en andensteds:*
- Appropriated command: *hvo som bekiender mig for Menneskene, den vil jeg bekiende for min Fader, og hvo som nægter mig for Menneskene, den vil jeg nægte for min Fader [Matth. 10 C., 32-33 V.],*
- Appropriated command: *og hvo som graver sit **Pund** ned i Jorden, den skal det fratages etc. [Matth. 25 C., 14 -13 V.],*
- Legitimation: *og David siger i Psalmen 51de, V. 15de:*
- Appropriated command: *saa vil jeg lære Overtrædere dine Veye og Syndere skulle omvende sig.*
- Legitimation: *Christi Apostle siger:*
- Appropriated command: *man skal **paaminde** og **opmuntre** hverandre etc. I Kor. 14 C., 31 V.]*

(Skr. I 115, 19-35)

Hauge also uses the idea of ‘*at aagre med den betroede Pund*’ to describe his commission in *GV-Fortale* (Skr. I 150, 8-15; Skr. I 154, 14-16); *GV-4* (Skr. I 194, 14-18) and *EL-Fortale* (Skr. II 58, 1) and *EL-Tillæg* (Skr. II 82, 20).

⁷ c.f. Skr. I 88, 24

Elsewhere he uses this term to extend his commission to his followers (e.g. *Skr. I* 106, 23ff).

3.3.1b ‘*det himmelske Liggendefæe*’

In the second example, the opening line of *BVD-5*, Hauge describes his commission as ‘*Liggendefæe*’. Its divine origin and inspirational nature are indicated by the phrases ‘*hver Skriftklog som er lært til Himmeriges Rige*’ and ‘*mit Liggendefæe, som mig er lært*’. The formula also utilises Jesus’ command to his followers that they ‘*bærer frem af sit Liggendefæe*’ (Matt.13:52), i.e. bring the entrusted message forth.

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| Messenger formula: | <i>‘Min elskelig Herre og eeneste Mester, alles Fuldkommenheds Mynster (sic) Jesus Christus siger hos Matth. 13 Cap. [52 V.]:</i> |
| Command: | <i>Hver Skriftklog som er lært til Himmeriges Rige, er ligesom et Menneske som er en Husbond, der bærer frem af sit Liggendefæe nye og gamle Ting ,</i> |
| Appropriation: | <i>saa maae jeg frembære af mit Liggendefæe, som mig er lært;</i> |
| Messenger formula: | <i>thi Christus siger hos Johannes 14de:</i> |
| Command: | <i>Hvo mig elsker han holder mine Befalninger [Joh. 14 C., 15 V.],</i> |
| Appropriation: | <i>dette vil jeg efterfølge saa meget mig er mueligt.’</i> |

(*Skr. I* 96, 4-11)

Hauge also uses this illustration in *Skr. I* 122, 2-20 (*GV-Fortale*) and *Skr. I* 146:18-21 (*BVD-Bidrag*). In both these cases the notion of obeying ‘*Christi Befalning*’ is apparent, and the inspired nature of the message is indicated by Hauge’s use of the term ‘*Aandens Oplysning*’.

3.3.2 Prophetic call narratives

The prophetic call narrative is a combination of messenger and commission devices including speech and narrative elements (Aune 1983:97). Biblical call narratives have the appearance of autobiography, but are not necessarily considered to reflect the actual experience of the prophet; functioning rather as ‘proclamations that legitimate the prophet’s vocation’ (Aune 1983:98). Such narratives typically consist of a commission, objection, reassurance and a sign.

The best known autobiographical description of Hauge’s definitive religious experience is a commission narrative based on the prophetic call narrative in Isaiah 6. As this was published in 1817, twenty years after *BVD*, it has little relevance to authorising the content of Hauge’s early texts as prophecy other than in retrospect. However, two call narratives can be identified in the early texts – one in *BVD-Fortale* (1796), of which Gundersen notes that the quotation of Deut. 6:6-7 acts as ‘*en variant av HNHs misjonsbefaling*’ (Gundersen 2000:34), and the second is found in *GV-Tilskrift* (1799). The difference between the two call narratives demonstrates the development of Hauge’s prophetic consciousness in the intervening three years.

3.3.2a The ‘*BVD-Fortale*’ narrative

The *BVD-Fortale* commission narrative occurs at the outset of Hauge’s work; its expression is covert, but the elements are present and it functions to legitimate his prophetic vocation. Hauge’s conversion experience is implicit in the phrase ‘*een Deel Siele, som er sønderknuset for deres Synder*’; the commission itself is contained in Hauge’s appropriation of Lk. 22:32b and Deut. 6:6-7. The objection is expressed by Hauge’s statement ‘*jeg ikke er i den Stand*’, but he appears to have received some reassurance to be able to say that the commission is his ‘*største Lyst*’. The ‘sign’ is the writing of *BVD* by ‘*en lidet forsøgt og mindre skriftlærd Dreng*’ (*Skr.* I 61). That *BVD* is here designated as a ‘sign’ acts to legitimate the contents of the book as prophecy. The *BVD-Fortale* call narrative is detailed below:

‘Lærerne prædiker nogle Evangeli-Stykker til Lægedom for en karsk Siel; derimod har den gode Gud givet den Lyst i een Deel Siele, som er sønderknuset for deres Synder og tænker paa de Ord Christus siger: “Naar du omvender dig, da ‘styrk dine Brødre’. Vi vil da gjøre som Gud befaler: “De Ord som jeg byder dig i Dag skal være paa dit Hierte og du skal igientage dem for dine Børn og tale om dem naar du gaaer paa Vejen, naar du sidder i dit Huus, naar du lægger dig og du opstaaer”. Dette er min største Lyst, og naar jeg dette vil gjøre, sætter sig imod mig baade Læg og Lærd, fordi jeg ikke er i den Stand; men jeg kan dog ikke grave mit Pund ned i Jorden, efterdi jeg fornemmer at det da bliver fra mig taget; jeg har derfor faaet i Tanker at forfatte dette Skrift, for om mueligt at faae overbeviist om Christendommens Tilstand; jeg kalder det Verdens Daarlighed, fordi jeg er vis om at den vil blive det for Verdens viise Mennesker, som er saa mange nu.’

(Skr. I 78, 3-18)

3.3.2b The ‘GV-Tilskrift’ narrative

The *GV-Tilskrift* call narrative is the product of Hauge’s fully developed consciousness of his prophetic calling, and appropriates the call narratives of Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel to legitimate his own vocation. It consists of narrative and speech elements, and besides utilising the commission motifs we identified earlier, it demonstrates a clear commission, objection, reassurance and a sign.

Commission motifs: *‘da jeg for 3 Aars Tid siden blev forandret mit Sind, søgte og fandt det himmelske Liggendefæe, og Gud betroede mig Pund, som var min Lyst at aagre med; men jeg som var et Barn i Viisdom og Kraft, der behøver daglig at voxer i hellige Ord og Gierninger, at fylde Jorden med Guds Ære,*

Conversion: *det skede med mig, som Esaias siger om sig i det 6 C: Vee mig! thi jeg maae visselig udryddes, thi jeg haver urene Læber, og boer mit iblandt et Folk som haver urene Læber, thi mine Øjne havde seet Kongen den Herre Zebaoth; da fløy en af de Zeraphim til mig og havde en Glød i sin Hand, og han rørte ved min Mund og sagde: see denne haver rørt ved dine Læber, at din Misgierning skal bortvige og din Synd forsones.*

Commission:	<i>Jeg hørde Herrens Røst, som sagde: Hvem skal jeg sende hen og lade indbede til min store Nadvære og kalde fra alle Sider, Nord og Sør, Øst og Væst?</i>
Acceptance:	<i>Jeg sagde: send mig; thi mit Hierte brændte af Kierlighed til alle Mennesker, at vilde bede dem til det frydefulde Maaltid, som Gud havde bered;</i>
Objection:	<i>men som da Folket hører flittig og forstaar ikke, seer flittig, men fornæmmer ikke, thi deres Hierter og Sandser var gjort fede af Verdens Kierlighed og Kundskabs Opblæselse, ja i Forhærdelse og forvendt Sind mod Sandheden, og da jeg af saadanne ikke kunde vinde noget godt, men blev ofte skad, da jeg var ung og svag, saa vilde jeg frasagt mit Embede og gav Undskyldning med Mose 2 B. 4 C. 1 V. og Jeremias 1 C. 6 V. ikke for min Skyld, i hvad Lidelser som jeg skulde udstaae, men at jeg var for ringe, svag og ulærd, at Folk ikke vilde agte mig eller det jeg sagde;</i>
Reassurance:	<i>hvorpaa Aanden svarede: at hans Naade fuldkommes i Skrøbelighed, og skal lære mig, naar jeg vil blive lydig, holde Løfterne paa min Side, at opofre mig til hans Tieneste, saa skulde han selv stride og drive Værket til sin Ære, mig og alle dem som Naaden ikke tog forgieves. Jeg skulde da tale enten dem vilde høre eller ikke høre, Esech. 2 C. 5 V.</i>
Sign:	<i>Thi det skulde blive Foragterne til Vidnesbyrd, Apost. Giern. 1 C. 8 V.</i>

(Skr. I 243, 28 – Skr. I 244, 26,)

The ‘conversion’ narrative is an almost accurate reproduction of Is. 6:5-7 (*Chr. VII*), but the ‘commission’ and ‘acceptance’ are Hauge’s amplification of Is. 6:8. The reason for the ‘objection’ applies Is. 6:9 to the current context, and elaborates on ‘*giør dette folkes hierte feedt*’ (Is. 6:10, *Chr. VII*). The ‘objection’ itself draws on Jer. 1:6 ‘*Ach, HERre, HERRE! See, jeg veed ikke at tale, for jeg er ung*’ (*Chr. VII*) and Ex. 4:1 ‘*Men see, de skulle ikke troe mig, og ikke lyde min røst; men de skulle sige: HERREN have ikke aabenbaret sig for dig*’ (*Chr. VII*). The ‘reassurance’ draws on 2 Cor. 12:9 and a combination Jn. 14:26 and Jn. 8:31, indicating the inspired nature of the revelation Hauge is promised. The reassurance concludes with a reference to Ez. 2:5 ‘*Hvad heller de lyde, eller lade være; (thi de ere et gjenstridigt huus,) dog skal de vide , at der haver været en prophet midt iblant*’ (*Chr. VII*). In referring to, but not quoting this verse, Hauge is covertly signalling his prophetic role to his audience. The ‘sign’ (*Vidnesbyrd*)

refers to Jesus' words of commission in Acts 1:8 'You will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes upon you; and you will be my witnesses ... to the ends of the earth' (NIV) and indicates the divine, inspirational driving force behind Hauge's speech.

3.4 Legitimation formulas

Two main forms of legitimation formula occur in Hauge's writings, and are found at the end of prefaces of each book or at the end of the chapters that form the body of each book.

3.4.1 A humble servant

The first form of legitimation device overlaps in function with a messenger device in that it denotes Hauge as a servant - messenger and points to the divine originator of the commission. This device is found at the end of the prefaces of Hauge's first four books and has such a regular form that it can be considered a 'prophetic signature'; in fact these formulas are followed by Hauge's signature and the date, except in *BVD-Formaning*:

'... i øvrigt er jeg hans [Guds] tjenstskyldige Tienner. H.Nielsen.'

(Skr. I 80, 19-21, *BVD-Fortale*)

'hans [Guds] Tienner vil jeg være i Ord og Pen, hvilket jeg beder Gud vil give mig og alle sande Christne Styrke til for Jesu Christi Skyld! Amen.'

(Skr. I 107, 12-14, *BVD-Formaning*)

'jeg da er med mit Pund alle Menneskers tjenstskyldige Tienere i det Gode. H. Nielsen.'

(Skr. I 154, 14-16, *GV-Fortale*)

'jeg udbeder vor Faders Naade i Jesu troe Tieneste ved den Hellig[e] Aands Oplysning og Kraft at blive ved at stride for

***Sandheden** til vi med Christo og alle hans Salvede erlanger den himmelske Krone. Hauge den 7de Februarii 1798. H.N.H.’*

(Skr. II 37, 5-10, *SB-Til Læseren*)

*‘Det Gode tillægger de Gud Æren for, hvilken det kommer fra. **Saa er jeg Eders hengivne Tiener.** Hauge den 11te Junii 1798. Hans Nielsen.’*

(Skr. II 58, 12-15, *EL-Til Læseren*)

Some of the examples above supplement the servant motif with other forms of legitimation. The formula from *BVD-Fortale* indicates the divine source of the message by Hauge’s appeal to God for ‘*Styrke*’ (strength) for the servant task of speaking and writing.⁸ The formula from *BVD-Formaning* adds the other main legitimation motif: ‘*for Jesu Christi Skyld! Amen*’ (see Section 3.4.2. below). The formula from *GV-Fortale* adds the commission motif ‘*mit Pund*’ which indicates the message has been given to Hauge by God (see Section 3.3.1a above). The formula from *SB-Til Læseren* adds direct indication of Hauge’s divine inspiration: ‘*ved den Hellig Aands Oplysning og Kraft*’ and compounds this with use of the ‘speaking the truth’ oath motif (see Section 3.6 below). The formula in *EL-Til Læseren* indicates the divine origin of the message very directly with the phrase: ‘*Gud ... hvilken det kommer fra*’.

The notion of Hauge as a servant-messenger rather than originator of the message of his books is also conveyed by Hauge’s description of himself on their title pages. The implication is that an uneducated man could not himself have thought up the ‘*Guds Viisdom*’ or ‘*Sandheds Bekiendelse*’ contained in their content:

⁸ This device also extends the legitimation to ‘*alle sande Christne*’ and indicates the beginnings of Hauge’s task of energising ‘a prophethood of all believers’ (see Chapter 7).

‘Sammenskrevet i Korthed af en lidet forsøgt og mindre skriftlærd Dreng ’ (Skr. I 61, BVD)

‘Sammenskrevet af en ringe Bondesøn’ (Skr. I 135, GV)

‘Udgivet af en ringe Bondesøn’ (Skr. II 31, SB)

‘Udgivet af det svage Leer-Karr, for Kraften er Guds’

(Skr. II 55, EL)

The divine origin of the message is indicated most clearly on the title page of *EL* where Hauge alludes to 2 Cor. 4:7 to describe himself as a weak clay vessel into which God has poured his power: *‘hans Aand, der haver forklaret Ordet’* (Skr. II 76, 6ff). The more overt nature of this legitimization signature in *EL* is indicative of the development of Hauge’s prophetic consciousness in the two years since he began to speak and write.

3.4.2 *‘for Jesu Skyld’*

The second form of legitimization device uses variations on the formulaic expression *‘for sin kiære Søn Jesum Christum Vor Herres Skyld! Amen’*. This device occurs with sufficient frequency and regularity to be considered as a prophetic signature. It overlaps in function with a messenger device in that it uses one of the variety of expressions that indicate the message comes either ‘through’, ‘by’ or ‘in’ the name of Jesus.

The main examples of this ‘signature’ are found at the end of *BVD* Chapters 1-4, *BVD-Bønner* and *BVD-Formaning*, usually as part of constructions using the imperative or hortatory subjunctive where God is the addressee:⁹

⁹ Although they lack the two main legitimization motifs, *BVD-5* (Skr I 103, 30-32), *BVD-Løbebanen* (Skr. I 118 ,12-14), *BVD-Efterskrift* (Skr. I 120, 30 – Skr. I 121,4) and *BVD-Bidrag* (Skr. I 132, 19-23) all end with proclamations that act as legitimization devices, but are not discussed here.

‘Gud! ... opvække os for din kiære Søn vor Frelseres Skyld ved din Hellig Aand! Amen.’

(Skr. I 77 2-5, letter quoted in BVD-Fortale)

‘Gud høre og bønnhøre mig for Jesu Christi Skyld! Amen.’

(Skr. I 84, 9-10, BVD-1)

‘Gud give dette for sin kjære Søns Jesu Christi Skyld! Amen.’

(Skr. I 85, 23-24, BVD-2)

‘Gud er meget rund til at forlade for sin kiære Søn Jesu Christi Skyld og formindske Straffen baade timelig og evig. Amen.’

(Skr. I 86, 23-25, BVD-3)

‘Jeg ønsker Eder og beder Gud, at han Vil give Eder Naadens og Bønnens Aand til Hielp for sin kiære Søn Jesum Christum Vor Herres Skyld! Amen.’

(Skr. I 95, 30-23, BVD-4)

‘det høre og bøn[n]høre Gud Fader for din Søn Jesu Christi Skyld! Amen.’

(Skr. I 104, 7-8, BVD-Bønnen)

This form of legitimation device that uses the ‘for Jesus sake’ motif as a closing signature develops into an actual prayer in five of the six main chapters in *GV*. ‘Legitimizing prayers’ containing this motif are also found after each of the two main chapters of *EL*:

‘... og da blive salige formedelst din kiære Søn vor Frelser den barmhiertige kierlige lidende Herre Jesu Skyld! Amen.’

(Skr. I 175, 3-4, Bønnen in GV-1)

*‘Barmhiertige kiære Fader hielp os hertil **for din Søn Jesu Christi** vor eeneste Saliggjøreres **Skyld!** Amen.’*

(Skr. I 180, 24-26, *Bønnen* in GV-2)

*‘Barmhiertige Fader, hielp os hertil **for din kiære Son Jesu Christi** **Skyld!** Amen.’*

(Skr. I 199, 22-23, *Bønnen* in GV-4)

*‘Hielp os hertil du naadige Gud og Fader **for din barmhiertige kiære Son Jesu Christi Skyld** med din Hellig Aands Trøst! Amen.’*

(Skr. I 207, 1-3, *Bønnen* in GV-5)

*‘Hielp os hertil du miskundelige Gud **for din kiære Søn Jesu Christi Skyld** at overvinde med hans Blod og klare Vidnesbyrds Ord! Amen.’*

(Skr. I 221, 30-32, *Bønnen* in GV-6)

*‘Bønhør os **for Jesu Skyld!** Amen.’*

(Skr. II 65, 18, *Bønnen* in EL-I; and Skr. II 68, 25, *Bønnen* in E-2)

3.4.3 ‘i Jesu Navn’

A more infrequent motif in the legitimation formulas at the end of Hauge’s prayers takes the form of a messenger device ‘i Jesus Navn’, e.g.

*‘Hertil give os Gud sin Naade, derom beder vi **i Jesu Navn!** Amen.’*

(Skr. I 185, 7)

This motif also occurs in Skr. II 49, 5-6, Skr. II 83, 4, and at the beginning of Hauge’s autobiography, *Løbebanen*, where the legitimation formula takes the form of the pronouncement made by a priest at the beginning of a sermon.

‘I den Hellige Treenigheds navn Gud Fader, Søn og den Hellig Aands! Amen.’

(Skr. I 108, 2-3)

Use of such a formula supports Gundersen’s claim that Hauge made a conscious effort to appropriate the hegemonic religious language of his time and stepped into the ‘*det offentlige Læreembete*’ that was officially denied him (Gundersen 2000:36). This act was tantamount to Hauge assuming a prophetic task understood in the sense of ‘public proclamation of the Word’.

3.4.4 Miscellaneous devices

All the sections of Hauge’s books end with some type of legitimation formula. Those described above show some degree of structure in that they relate to three common motifs. Formulas that depart from these motifs are found as conclusions to *BVD-Forerindring*, *GV-Formaning*, *GV7-Bønner*, and *SB-Opmuntring*. Two examples are given below. In the first, the divine source of the message is indicated by ‘*Godheds Kilde*’. In the second, the legitimation formula takes the form of a blessing, which Hauge, in his position as a layman, is not officially sanctioned to give.

*‘Er her noget forbedret i dette Oplag, saa læg det til **Godheds Kilde**, fra hvilket Hav alt godt kommer, og maae løbe til igien, om det skal beholde sin Strøm. Forfatteren.’*

(Skr. I 282, *BVD-Forerindring*)

‘Jeg ønsker eder alle, som elsker Gud i vor Frelsere, og beder: at Faderens store Naade, Jesu Christi Kierlighed og den Hellig Aands Trøst maatte voxe og blive fuldkommen i eder alle, indtil Dagenes Ende! Amen.’

(Skr. I 224, 5-8, *GV-Formaning*)

3.5 Proclamation formulas

Proclamation formulas are directives which, besides pointing to divine source of a message, authorise prophetic speech by demanding that the addressee pay attention to what is being said. In Hauge's early texts, proclamation formulas tend to conclude prefaces, although some conclude chapters (e.g. in *GV*) or punctuate the text (e.g. in *BVD-Fortale* and some chapters in *BVD*).

3.5.1 The 'introductory' proclamation formula

Hauge's proclamation formulas are characteristically introduced with '*Jeg beder da Læseren...*' followed by the infinitive form of a verb such as '*betragte / erindre / betænke ...*'. In *BVD* the verbs forming proclamation devices occur with the following frequencies:

' <i>jeg beder</i> '	11
' <i>betragte</i> '	6
' <i>erindre</i> '	4
' <i>betænke</i> '	10

The verbs '*betragte / erindre / betænke*' used in proclamation devices are sometimes found in the imperative without a preceding '*jeg beder*'. In such cases they tend to perform a role in a parenetic oracle (see Chapter 4, Section 2.2.5) which exhorts the reader to a particular action, e.g. the following parenetic oracle from *GV-I*:

Parenetic oracle:	'... <i>betænk om der er en Gud til og om de har en Sjel, det beder jeg enhver at gjøre,</i>
Proclamation formula:	<i>og dertil erindre eder den Herre Jesu Ord hos Johannes 13de Capitel 17 Vers:</i>
Parenetic oracle:	<i>dersom I vide dette, da ere I salige om I gjøre det'</i> (<i>Skr. I 173, 32-35</i>)

3.5.2 Secondary proclamation devices

Hauge usually follows his introductory proclamation formula by a combination of three secondary devices which indicate the divine source of the message and its inspired nature by qualifying how the reader should listen.

a) Secondary device A is one in which Hauge designates his words as '*Daarlighed*' or '*daarlig*'. This suggestion of the 'foolishness' of the message refers to 1 Cor. 1:18-25 where 'the message of the cross' is described as 'foolishness to those who are perishing' but 'the power of God' for the 'saved'. Hauge appropriates this idea not only in relation to the content of his message, but to legitimate the divine origin of a presentation he knows is full of technical deficiencies resulting from his lack of education. The reader is expected to look beyond the technical difficulties to acknowledge spiritual truth.

b) Secondary device B is Hauge's challenge to the reader to test the divine origin of his message, characteristically to '*prøve ikke mine men Guds Ord*'. The grammar and construction of this device are often such that Hauge could either be asking his readers to test whether his words were 'God's words /message', or to test the content of his message against 'God's Word', the Bible (see *Skr.* I 151,13). An elaboration of this device does exhort the reader to verify the content of Hauge's message against the message of the Bible. This device is based on established criteria for testing prophecy found in 1 Jn. 4:1-2: 'Test the spirits to see if they are from God ... This is how you can recognise the Spirit of God: Every spirit that recognises that Jesus has come in the flesh is of God', i.e. if a message is consistent with NT teaching in particular it can be considered to be prophecy (Cartledge 1994:114ff.). In other words, the reader is expected to read and understand Hauge's message in the light of the Word.

c) Secondary proclamation device C indicates the divine origin of the message by pointing the reader directly to God, characteristically by using the phrase '*ikke gjør dem [Ordene] til mine, thi da gjør de mig til Gud*'. This device also contains an inherent threat, as in Hauge's opinion, the person who attributes

God's words to a human source is in danger of committing the sin of idolatry (*Forklaring*, Questions 65-69), i.e. the reader is expected to attribute the message to God and not to the messenger.

Hauge's first use of a proclamation device comes two thirds of the way into *BVD-Fortale*. It demonstrates the introductory formula and two secondary devices:

Proclamation device intro:	<i>'Jeg beder da Læseren betragter</i>
2° device A	<i>om det [mit budskap] er Daarlighed for Gud;</i>
2° device B:	<i>jeg farer vel maaskee noget haardt i den, men overvej og lad det gaae til Hiertet og prøv ikke mine men Guds Ord'</i>
	(Skr. I 78, 19-21)

Proclamation devices are common to the conclusion of all the prefaces of Hauge's early texts. The following example is from *GV-Fortale*, but any of the other three could just as easily have been used:

2° device A:	<i>'Jeg forelægger eder disse enfoldige Ord, som ere daarlige for Verdens Viise, men dem behager Gud at gjøre dem salig, siger Paulus, som vil troe og gjøre derefter;</i>
Proclamation intro device:	<i>jeg beder da at de vil betragte dem tilligemed den lille Catechismus og dens Forklaring,</i>
2° device B:	<i>og dem der haver Bibelen, kan overveye den, saa faaer de see om der er noget galt; farer jeg da Feyl imod det sande Guds Ord, saa beder jeg om Forladelse, og vil igienkalde det;</i>
2° device C:	<i>men er noget godt til Opbyggelse, saa giv Gud Æren derfor og læg den ikke til mig,</i>

Commission formula: *thi jeg har ikke uden **betroet Gods**, at naar
(‘betroet Pund’ motif) min himmelske Herre kommer og kræver
Regnskab, jeg da kan have vundet noget,
hvorfor jeg da er med **mit Pund***

Legitimation formula: *alle Menneskers **tenstskyldige Tienere** i
(servant motif) det Gode. H. Nielsen.*

(Skr. I 154, 4-15)

3.6 Oath formulas

‘The normal function of an oath is to attest to the truthfulness of a given statement or deposition’ (Aune 1983:333). Oath devices are the means by which prophetic speech swears to its truthfulness besides to its divine origin and content. In early Christian literature oath devices centre around verbs that mean ‘to give legal testimony’. Although the designation ‘oath’ may appear to imply something stronger, it is the ‘weight’ or ‘solemn pronouncement’ of legal testimony given under divine oath that is seen as ‘essential to the prophetic task’ (Aune 1983:44). Examples of oath devices can be found in Rev. 1:2 - ‘his servant John, who *testifies* to everything that he saw’, and Rev. 21:5 - ‘these words are *trustworthy* and *true*’.

Hauge was aware of the connection between legal testimony and prophecy; he uses the term ‘*Sandheds-Vidne*’ in both legal and spiritual contexts. After his first arrest, Hauge declares he can find ‘*Sandheds-Vidner*’ to refute the charges brought against him (Skr. II 35, 28ff). Conversely, Hauge also uses the noun ‘*Vidne*’ to signify ‘prophet’ (Skr. I 231, 14-1), ‘*vidner*’ to denote the task of prophesying (Skr. I 184, 20), and ‘*Vidnesbyrd*’ to signify the message brought by a prophet (Skr. I 238, 14). Thus Hauge’s frequent use of the term ‘*Sandheds-Vidne*’ (Skr. I 179, 26; Skr. I 178,32; Skr. I 246, 13ff) and ‘*Vidnesbyrd*’ (Skr. I 150, 26; Skr. I 236, 12; Skr. II 33, 22; Skr. I 125, 35) in respect of himself and his message can be considered as him understanding himself as having a prophetic task.

Hauge's oath devices are interwoven with four motifs which reinforce the idea of legal testimony legitimating his speech as prophecy. The most frequent device is his statement that he is a man who '*siger Sandheden*'. This motif is usually combined with a 'martyr motif' in which Hauge stakes his material goods and his life on the truthfulness of his testimony. A third device is the presentation of the sworn testimony of various witnesses, e.g. himself, God, the Bible, or people who know him. A final motif contrasts Hauge 'the speaker of truth' with the clergy 'the speakers of lies', and forms the basis for the argument behind his third book, *En Sandheds Bekiendelse*. Examples of these motifs in use are shown below:

Example 3.6a

Oath device (Paul):
(martyr motif)
(speaking truth motif)

*'Apostelen Paulus siger:
"Jeg er bleven eders Fiende
for jeg skal tale Sandhed";*

Oath device (Hauge):
(martyr motif)
(speaking truth motif)
(indication of inspiration)

*saaledes frygter jeg for at det og bliver med
mig nu,
men jeg maae dog og tale Sandhed
af den Drift som jeg haver.'*

(Skr. I 84, 14 -16, BVD-2)

Similar examples to the above are found in *Skr. I 77, 19-21* and *Skr. I 87, 1-6*.

Example 3.6b

Oath device (Paul):
(truth v. lies motif)

(speaking truth motif)

*'Dette siger han [Paulus],
fordi der var nogle falske Apostle som ophøiede
sig selv, rosed sig af Falskhed, og derved forførte
andre, som han havde lært før
og da maatte han **sige Sandhed**, thi det angik
Guds Ære;*

Oath device (Hauge):
(speaking truth motif)
(truth v. lies motif)
(justification)

(testimony motif)

*saa er og min Hensigt,
at jeg vil have overbevist de høye Lærere,
og naar jeg da skal rose mig, saa bliver
det i min Skrøbelighed med Paulo,
som i den forrige Bog (BVD) er vist,*

Messenger device: (Indication of divine source of message)	<i>og da jeg er ringe som Apostlene, der var Fiskere, foragtede Toldere og læge Folk, saa er jeg en foragtet Slagter og ustuderet Bondesøn, der har ikke nogen Lærere uden Gud og hans Ord;</i>
Messenger device: (indication of inspiration)	<i>men da jeg taler og skriver saa frit hvad der bliver lært mig i min Aand,</i>
Legitimation:	<i>saa maae jeg vel sige som min kierlige Frelser(e):</i>
Oath device (Jesus / Hauge): (martyr motif) (speaking truth motif) (martyr motif)	<i>nu søge I at slaae mig ihjel fordi jeg er et Menneske der haver sagt eder Sandhed, saa vil vist mange forfølge mig og slaae mig ihjel'</i>
	<i>(Skr. I 151, 30 – Skr. I 152, 9, GV-Portale)</i>

3.7 Mystery formulas

Mystery formulas legitimate prophetic speech by indicating the divine source of the message and by claiming the revelation of hidden knowledge often of a future orientated nature. Although these formulas may pertain to a more general declaring of the 'mystery' of the gospel, their usual focus is the revelation of hidden knowledge of an apocalyptic nature. In this respect these devices reflect the 'gnostic' (discovery and insight) aspect of apocalyptic thought; the other aspect of apocalyptic being the 'prophetic' (warning and consolation) (Barnes 1988:2-3).

The formulaic early Christian mystery device is not used by Hauge, but he uses two idiosyncratic mystery devices which perform the same function. The first bears a structural similarity to the NT mystery device in that it consists of an indication that a secret has been revealed, followed by disclosure of that secret in part or in whole. The second is a general statement that God is 'the revealer of divine secrets' and gives the implication that such secrets have been revealed to Hauge, but no immediate disclosure of those secrets follows.

3.7.1 ‘Lo, I tell you a mystery!’

Hauge’s mystery formulas are concentrated in the preface and postscripts of his early texts. The first is found in *BVD-Fortale*; it announces and then discloses a partial secret regarding the interpretation of the Book of Revelation. Such early use of this type of mystery device indicates that Hauge’s divine insight into the symbolism of the apocalyptic books of the Bible informed his views from the outset.

Mystery announcement: *‘den sidste Bog (i) Aabenbaringen er reent
skiult for de selvgode Mennesker; jeg har aldrig
læst i den og forstaaet det før nu, da jeg forstaaer
noget i den, thi seer jeg nok*

Mystery oracle: *at her vil blive en Forandring;*

Commission device: *det heder vel at jeg ophøyer mig undertiden,
men jeg har ikke noget som jeg jo haver
annammet, og derfor ikke sige det er mit.’ **

(Skr. I 79, 23-30)

* The confusing grammar here is Hauge’s

The indication of divine revelation of hidden secrets is heightened by the introductory statement that the meaning of Revelation is inaccessible (*‘reent skiult’*) to those who approach it with a rational mind (*‘de selvgode Mennesker’*). Hauge’s claim that he himself now understands Revelation implies spiritual understanding based on divine revelation, rather than on rational understanding. This is corroborated by the commissioning device which follows the oracle. This is a partial quotation of Gal. 1:12 - ‘I did not receive it from any man, nor was I taught it, rather *I received it by revelation from Jesus Christ*’ (my italics). Although Paul is usually understood as referring to the ‘mystery’ of the Gospel, Hauge makes reference to this verse to signal that his secret knowledge into the last book of the Bible has come as a result of inspired revelation from a divine being.

3.7.2 ‘Lo, *I have been told a mystery!*’

Hauge’s second kind of mystery device makes a more general statement about the revelation of hidden secrets. Rather than ‘Lo, *I tell you a mystery + oracle*’, its form is essentially ‘Lo, *I have been told a mystery*’, e.g.

*‘jeg ikke havde hørt noget om dens [Aabenbaringens Bogs]
Forklaring af nogen Lærer, hvorover jeg bad Gud vilde give mig det
tilkiende, og fik det Svar i min Aand af Joh. 8 Cap: dersom du bliver
ved mine Ord, da skal du forstaae Sandheden, og Sandheden skal
frigiøre dig; da jeg det loved, saa blev mig klarlig overbeviist’*

(Skr. I 225, 19-24)

This device occurs at the beginning of Hauge’s explanation of apocalyptic symbolism in GV-7. It acts to demonstrate to the reader that his spiritual insight was the result of divine revelation and that the source of this revelation was God. This is indicated by Hauge ‘receiving an answer in his spirit’ after having prayed for revelation, and by his statement ‘*saa blev mig klarlig overbeviist*’, where ‘*klarlig*’ gives the participle ‘*overbevisst*’ the connotation of being able to ‘see’ or ‘understand’ at a level not accessible to the rational mind. Key to Hauge’s authorisation is the mention that this revelation was mediated by the Bible. Orthodox Lutheran thought does not accommodate direct revelation from God outside of the Word; Hauge’s constant reference to the Bible as his means of revelation is a bid to make himself and his message acceptable within that religious tradition. This form of mystery device, based on the theme of ‘knowing the truth’ through persistent searching of the Scriptures and enquiring of God, bears close relation to the oath devices that present Hauge as a man who ‘tells the truth’, and with the proclamation devices which present his message as one which is consistent with the content and teaching of the Bible.

A form of truncated mystery device is the specific mention of the revelation of hidden secrets. This device is based on Hauge’s appropriation of Jesus’ words to his disciples that they would ‘know God’s secrets’ (Matt. 13:11). Jesus is recorded as having spoken these words in the context of his disciples enquiring

why he spoke in parables. Jesus' reply is usually taken to imply that the 'secrets' are the understanding of how the parables depict 'the kingdom of God'. Hauge has extended the sense of Jesus' words to include the understanding that all parts of Scripture have a hidden meaning which is only accessible by divine inspiration and personal revelation. A selection of mystery devices on the theme of revealing hidden secrets are presented below. Key phrases are shown in bold italics. The two final examples relate specifically to Hauge's divine insight into apocalyptic symbolism as applied to his own historical context (*'disse farlige Tider'*).

*'Jesus siger til sine Disciple: **Eder er det givet at vide Guds Hemmeligheder**'*

(Skr. I 145, GV-Fortale)

*'... **Gud særdeles har vildet aabenbare noget** og da har sendt sine Aander i Lignelser at forkynde Guds Villie og **aabenbaret (sic) hemmelige Ting**'*

(Skr. I 158, 8-10, GV-I)

*'den alvise Gud saaledes haver skrevet ved sine Profeter og Apostle i Lignelser, som er **skiult for de Ugudelige** og Selvise, thi **Christus siger: Eder er det givet at vide Guds Hemmeligheder, som efterfølger mig**, og hos Johannes 6 Capitel: **de skulle alle blive lærde af Gud** '.*

(Skr. I 224, 17-21, GV-7)

*'han havde Lyst til Sandhed som ligger i **Skiul**, Ps. 51, som skulde aabenbares'*

(Skr. I 122, 21-22, BVD-Bidrag)

‘saa maae vor Fornuft formeres af de aandelige Ord, og den Praediken er ikke i menneskelig Viisdoms overtalende Ord, men i Aands kraftige klare Overbeviisninger og Hemmelighed der var skiult’

(Skr. I 292, GV-Forerinding)

*‘Dette er et elendigt Bedragerie af Diævelens forblindede Aander der er formørket i Forstanden; thi denne Bog kaldes Aabenbaring, og [det er] befaleet først og sidst at læse og bevare den; men **Herren** haver sat den i Lignelser, saa de Verdens Viise skal ikke vide Guds Hemmeligheder, Math. 13 C. 11 v.’*

(Skr. II 75,32-76,2, EL-Tillæg)

‘og da Guds viise Raad aabenbarer mange hemmelige Ting i sit Ord, som haver været skiult før, og nu føres for Lyset, til Hielp for os i disse farlige Tider, da Forførerne ere mange.’

(Skr. II 76, 9-12, EL-Tillæg)

4. Summary and Conclusion

Having discussed various definitions of prophecy and prophets as they pertain to Hauge, and determined that his socio-historical context was conducive to the production of prophecy according to the criteria of Brueggemann’s paradigm ‘prophetic imagination’, it seemed essential to determine if his speech could be considered to be prophecy and according to what criteria. Although Christian prophecy demonstrates particular characteristics and formal elements, these are insufficient to identify a text as prophecy as they are common to many forms of Christian discourse. Aune’s examination of early Christian prophecy concludes that only the presence of ‘formal framing devices’ is sufficient to identify a text as prophecy. These framing devices act to identify the supernatural origin of the message, and in doing so, they legitimate the message as prophecy and the speaker as a prophet. Aune identified six types of framing devices: messenger, commission, legitimation, proclamation, oath and mystery formulas, all of which tended to commence or conclude prophetic speech.

An examination of Hauge's first four texts indicated he used equivalents of these framing devices to indicate the supernatural origin of his message. These framing devices also functioned to legitimate his speech as prophecy (God's message) and himself as a prophet (God's messenger).

A doctrinal environment which rejected continuing revelation and direct inspiration caused Hauge to use messenger formulas highly dependent on the reiteration of the biblical text: e.g. '*Gud / Christus siger hos* [reference]'. However, Hauge's use of a 'prophetic' or 'charismatic' hermeneutic allowed the biblical text to assume an immediate relevance to his own socio-historical context which gave it deeper meaning than that found in the straightforward quotation of a historical text.

The messenger formulas in which Hauge appropriated the words of the prophets, Jesus or the apostles, '*Jeg maa (sige / klage) med (Jesus / Propheten / Paulus) etc.*', allowed him to prophesy in his own person while retaining the authority of the biblical text. Use of these formulas also permitted Hauge to create innovative versions of God's message by expansion on the biblical text quoted, while still being confident that the message could be 'tested' against the Bible and not found wanting.

Hauge's legitimation of his divine commission has been a subject of ongoing discussion due to the doctrinal context in which he operated. In late eighteenth-century Denmark-Norway only the ordained clergy were permitted to bring God's message to the people and Hauge's commission was a challenge to that control. This factor and the mystical nature of his conversion experience - a narration of which would have placed him firmly in the category of popular prophets of suspect nature - were two reasons why Hauge's commission formulas were of a cryptic nature and why traces of his commission narrative are so covert in his first two texts. Hauge resorted to various figurative terms drawn from the stewardship parables of Jesus to signal his commission to his readership ('*Pund*', '*Liggendefæ*', '*betroet Gods*'). The first fully formed

prophetic call narrative serving to openly legitimate Hauge's vocation was published in 1799, yet even this was highly dependent on appropriation of the call narratives of the OT prophets for authorisation. Nevertheless, this narrative does indicate a significant development in Hauge's prophetic consciousness. This is demonstrated by the covert signal in his reference to, but not a specific quotation of Ez. 2:5, that he is a prophet commissioned to bring God's message to a rebellious people.

Hauge's proclamation devices serve to indicate the supernatural origin of his message by exhorting his readership to consider the irrational nature of the message's content and the technical difficulties of his composition as symptomatic of the 'foolishness of the gospel which has power to save' (1 Cor. 2). Furthermore, the devices encourage the reader to look beyond the immediate nature of the text to test whether the words are from God (*Guds Ord*) by comparing them with the message of 'God's Word', the Bible (*Guds Ord*). This device serves to legitimate the text within a doctrine of mediated inspiration, despite the difficulties posed by Hauge's frequent charge to attribute his words to God and not himself being an indication of unmediated inspiration.

The oath formulas used by Hauge depend heavily on the notion of legal witness crucial to the 'prophetic task' as understood in the New Testament. He expresses this by consistently describing himself as a man who '*siger Sandheden*' and by combining this with a martyr motif based on Jn. 8:39 and Gal. 4:16. The martyr motif is essential to Hauge's legitimization of his prophetic calling and is based on the understanding drawn from the OT and church history that suffering and martyrdom are the marks of a true prophet. The 'speaking the truth' device becomes more prominent in the second and third of Hauge's books when he finds himself having to defend his message and calling in the face of criticism and imprisonment. The opposition Hauge faced at this time also served to confirm and compound the martyr motif as a legitimating factor of his prophetic calling.

Mystery formulas indicate the divine revelation of hidden knowledge, and this is apparent in Hauge's recurrent declaration that he has been shown '*Guds Hemmeligheder som ligger i skiul*'. This pertains mainly to Hauge's interpretation of apocalyptic symbolism in relation to his time, which he explains at length in '*Forklaring over nogle Profesier*' (GV-7). This apocalyptic insight also relates to the interpretation of parts of the OT prophets and the words of Jesus '*ved Aandens Oplysning*' in relation to Hauge's own context, especially his criticisms of the clergy, whose false teaching he considered to be 'a sign of the end'. Although Hauge claimed his revelation came through the Word, and not directly from God, he still received criticism because the clergy were of the opinion that he '*falsk udlægger Skriften*' (Skr. I 153,16).

Consistent with Aune's findings, Hauge's framing devices occur in the prefaces and postscripts of his early works, although legitimating devices are found at the end of every chapter. The distribution of the various types of device reflects the development of Hauge's prophetic consciousness. Messenger, proclamation and legitimation devices are evenly distributed throughout Hauge's early works and form a constant reminder to the reader that Hauge may be considered the bearer of a message with supernatural origin. The commission devices are initially covert and figurative, but in the space of three years, although retaining a structure derivative of OT call narratives and appropriating biblical text, the commission narrative is blatant and confident and the figurative devices are explicitly extended to the whole membership of the lay religious movement (see Chapter 7). Oath devices increase in frequency and intensity in the second and third books when Hauge defends himself, 'the speaker of truth' against the clergy, 'the speakers of lies'. Mystery devices pervade all of Hauge's early texts and indicate that his message was coloured by an apocalyptic worldview from the outset. These devices come to the fore in GV-7, where he explains the symbolism of the Book of Revelation (see Chapter 5). They remain at the fore in *En Sandheds Bekiendelse* and *De Eenfoldiges Lære*, as Hauge considers the false teaching of the clergy as a main sign that the Last Judgement is at hand.

The presence of framing devices in Hauge's early texts, which conform to the function of the devices described by Aune in early Christian prophecy, indicates that Hauge's texts can be considered as prophecy and that he himself considered them as such. The idiosyncratic nature of some of Hauge's devices is an expression of his desire to legitimate his speech as prophecy in a religious culture that dismissed the notion of continuing revelation and direct inspiration, and only permitted ordained clergy to preach (Gundersen 2000:60). Hauge's constant quotation of and reference to the biblical text reflects this problem and has led to the comment that he actually said nothing new (*Skr.* II 71, 12-16). However, although the biblical text itself may have been familiar to his readers, the way in which Hauge used it was not. An investigation into the way Hauge used the Bible as a tool that enabled him to prophesy, the forms which that prophecy took, and the relation of these prophetic forms to the functional categories prophetic criticism and prophetic energising, are presented in the following chapter (Chapter 4).

Chapter 4: ‘*Formaning*’ and ‘*Opmuntring*’.

The forms of Hauge’s prophetic speech

1. Introduction

The exploration of Hauge’s prophetic speech in this thesis takes its starting point from Walter Brueggemann’s paradigm ‘prophetic imagination’. Brueggemann describes prophetic imagination as having two functional aspects - prophetic criticising and prophetic energising. These act in synergy to nurture an ‘alternative consciousness’ which has the potential to create futures that differ radically from the social, economic and political stasis experienced by those whose reality is determined by the dominant consciousness. Having concluded that Hauge’s context was ripe for prophecy (see Chapter 2, Section 5) and that Hauge’s texts can be considered to be prophecy due to the presence of framing devices which indicate the presence of prophetic speech (Chapter 3), this chapter undertakes a formal analysis of Hauge’s prophetic speech in order to determine how the forms it demonstrates relate to the functional categories of prophetic criticising and prophetic energising.

1.1 General and specific prophetic speech

The framing devices used by Hauge were found to occur mainly at the beginning and ending of whole texts and of their individual chapters, leading to the conclusion that all the speech within each of the four early texts as a whole and the speech within a particular chapter could be considered to be prophecy at a general level. This view is consistent with Hauge’s own understanding of preaching as prophecy, and also corresponds with the understanding of prophecy as the proclamation of the Word of God in the Reformed Christian traditions (see Chapter 1).

In addition to this, some framing devices, particularly messenger formulas and proclamation formulas, were found to punctuate the text of the individual chapters of Hauge’s first four publications. This observation prompted the proposal that Hauge’s prophetic speech can also be considered to contain a more

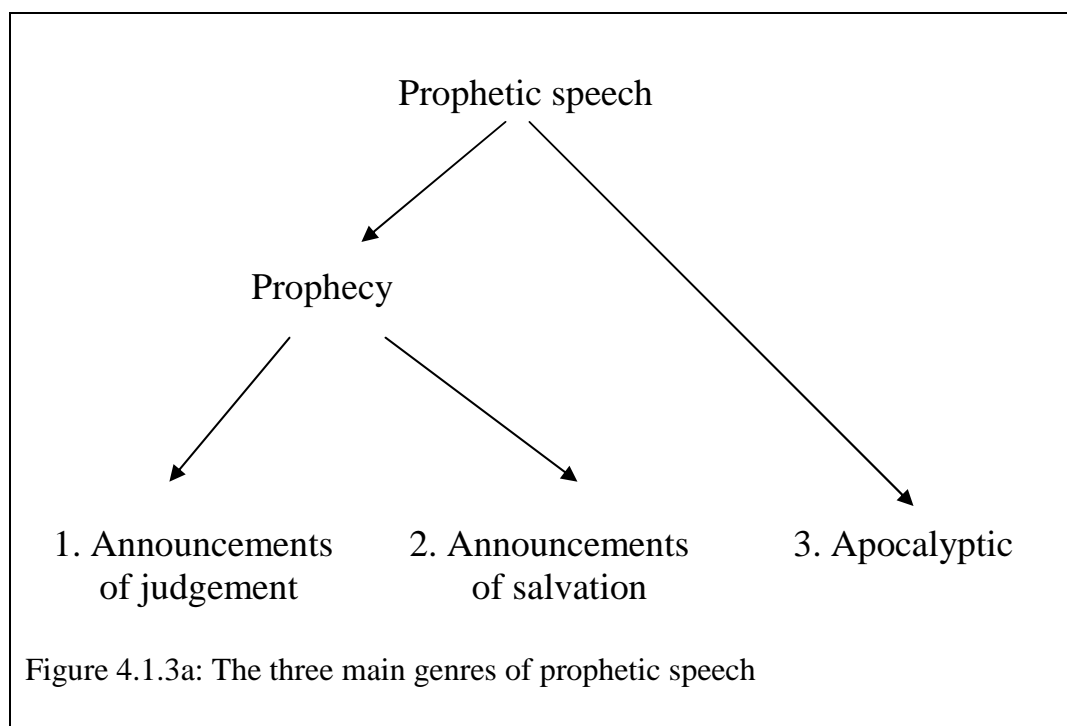
specific level of prophecy. These specific prophetic utterances correspond to the parts of his message which he considered needed additional emphasis - the addition of further framing devices and the use of specific biblical quotations intensifying the authority and content of that specific message. This idea is corroborated by Gundersen's comment that Hauge's use of '*Hoseas veklager i forordet til De Eenfoldiges Lære både "kvalifiserer" Hauge som en mann med profetisk innsikt – og samtidig lar ham "profetere"*' (Gundersen 2001:140, my emphasis). It is the various forms of these specific prophetic utterances which are described and analysed in this chapter.

1.2 Two main genres of specific prophetic speech

The forms of OT and NT prophetic speech upon which our analysis of Hauge's specific prophetic utterances is based fall into two main genres: 'announcements of judgement' and 'announcements of salvation' (Sandy 2002:106-109). These formal genres correspond to Brueggemann's functional categories of prophetic criticising and prophetic energising, i.e. prophecies classified in the genre typified by 'announcements of judgement' have a criticising function, and prophecies classified in the genre typified by 'announcements of salvation' have an energising function. This correlation indicates that a formal analysis and classification of the specific prophetic utterances identifiable in Hauge's early texts will permit the determination of their function within the paradigm of prophetic imagination.

1.3 'Dom' and 'Oppbyggelse'

Aune (1983) and Sandy (2002) not only recognise prophetic speech as consisting of two main formal genres: announcements of judgement and announcements of salvation, but also identify a third genre: apocalyptic. The first two genres, which are often generally understood as 'prophecy', have similar characteristics, but apocalyptic is arguably distinctive (Sandy 2002:106ff, see Chapter 5). The way these genres interrelate is shown in Figure 4.1.3a below:



In relation to our formal identification and categorisation of prophetic speech in Hauge's early texts, Sandy's distinction between apocalyptic prophecy and the two other main genres of prophetic speech mirrors the distinction between the two emphases which Gundersen describes running through Hauge's early texts: '*dom*' and '*oppbyggelse*' (Gundersen 2001:80ff). Gundersen identifies these as being derivative of two literary genres present in the textual poly-system of late eighteenth-century Norway - popular visionary apocalyptic and Pietistic devotional literature - and considers that these had a major influence on Hauge's idiosyncratic discourse. Without denying the influence these literary genres may have had on Hauge's style, if we look at his texts from the aspect of prophetic speech rather than popular literature, Hauge can be regarded as having made use of the three major genres of prophecy present in the Bible - apocalyptic, announcements of judgement and announcements of salvation. Thus, although a literal translation of Gundersen's terms reflects the understanding of prophecy as the interaction of 'judgement' (*dom*) and 'encouragement' (*oppbyggelse*) (see Chapter 1, Section 5.2) or even 'criticising' and 'energising', what he is

essentially describing is the presence of ‘apocalyptic’ and ‘prophecy’ (announcements of judgement and announcements of salvation) in Hauge.

As the two generic forms of ‘prophecy’ are considered to be distinct from apocalyptic, this chapter focuses on the forms of prophetic speech in Hauge’s specific prophetic utterances which bear relation to announcements of judgement and announcements of salvation. The influence which Hauge’s apocalypticism had on his message is examined in detail in Chapter 5.

So far in this thesis we have encountered a number of different means and conventions for describing prophetic speech. The way in which various descriptions of prophecy that we have encountered so far relate to one another, and particularly their relation to prophetic imagination, is presented in Figure 4.1.3b below (see next page). Our default position is that of Brueggemann and Aune.

1.4 Identifying specific prophetic speech in Hauge

Specific prophetic speech in Hauge’s early writings was identified in the following manner. The messenger and proclamation formulas¹ in the body of electronic copies of his four first texts were highlighted in a bold font. The text preceding and following each of these formulas was then examined to see if it could be broken down into sections whose content and meaning conformed to one of the five basic structural elements of prophetic speech described by Aune (see Section 1.5 below). Identified elements, including the framing devices, were labelled with subheadings using the ‘headings’ function in Microsoft Word. By looking at the scanned text in ‘outline view’, the particular selection of the subheadings identifying the structural elements of prophetic speech surrounding a framing device, or set of framing devices, could be compared with the characteristic patterns of the structural elements in the main forms of biblical prophecy identified by Aune (1983:91ff, 320ff). In this way, each specific prophetic utterance in Hauge’s early texts could be formally identified and labelled accordingly.

¹ For a description of messenger and proclamation devices in Hauge, see Chapter 3.

Prophetic imagination

(Brueggemann)

Prophetic criticism
Language of grief

Prophetic energising
Language of hope

Contemporary Charismatic prophecy (C20)

(Cartledge)

Perspective
Prescription
Prediction (negative)

Promise
Placation
Prediction (positive)

OT (and NT) prophetic genres

(Aune / Sandy)

- | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | 1. Announcements of judgement | 2. Announcements of salvation |
| 3. Apocalyptic | Criticising thread | Energising thread |

Gundersen

1. Pietistic devotional literature

'oppbyggelse'
(≈ Prophecy)

Call to repent

Assurance of salvation

2. Popular visionary apocalypticism

'dom'
(≈ Apocalyptic)

Criticising thread ?

Energising thread ?

Hauge

Warning
'Advarsel' / 'Skrek' / 'Formaning'

Encouragement
'Opmuntring' / 'Opbyggelse'

Lutheran theology

Law

Gospel

Figure 4.1.3b: The relationship between prophetic imagination, OT prophecy, contemporary Christian prophecy, and Gundersen's categories *'dom'* and *'opbyggelse'*

An example of the results of this procedure can be seen in the representation of *BVD-3* in ‘outline view’ shown below (Figure 4.1.4). This outline shows the elements of prophetic speech which were identified in *BVD-3* (indicated by the indented subheadings) and the form of prophetic speech to which each arrangement of elements was found to belong (indicated by the non-indented subheadings in bold font). The outline represents all the text in *BVD-3*, indicating that this chapter can be considered to be specific prophetic utterance in its entirety.

Announcement of Judgement

Framing device
 Accusation (Perspective)
 Threat (Prediction – negative)
 Accusation (Perspective)
 Threat (Prediction – negative)

Announcement of Judgement

Messenger device
 Accusation (Perspective)
 Messenger device
 Accusation (apocalyptic with interpretation / Perspective)
 Messenger device
 Threat (Prediction – negative)

Oracle of Assurance

Proclamation formula
 Admonition (Prescription)
 Promise (Reason)

Legitimation device

Figure 4.1.4: The outline representation of *BVD-3* showing the elements of prophetic speech and the formal types to which these were assigned.

1.5 The elements of prophetic speech

Prophetic speech (prophecy as opposed to apocalyptic) has five basic structural elements (Aune 1983:91). Two of the elements concern prediction of the future: the ‘threat’ and the ‘promise’. The promise is positive or energising in nature, whereas the threat is negative or criticising in nature. These two forms of prediction occur with two other structural elements, both of which usually act as reasons for the prediction. Aune calls these elements the ‘accusation’ and the ‘admonition’, although the reason for the prediction can be a straightforward statement of fact with no accusatory or admonitory implications (p.92). Aune describes the accusation and admonition as elements ‘subordinate’ to the predictive elements, which implies that he considers them to ‘qualify’ the prediction in some way (p.91). The fifth basic structural element of OT prophecy described by Aune is the ‘statement of divine disclosure’, e.g. ‘Thus you will know I am the Lord’ (p.91). As this element is not found in Hauge, it will not form part of our discussion. Its optional nature in OT prophecy does not make this exclusion a problem.

For our purposes, the basic structure of a prophetic utterance can thus be considered as:

$$\text{Prophecy} = \text{Prediction} + \text{Reason}$$

The prediction and reason can occur in any order. If occurring before the reason, the prediction is usually followed by a causal particle, e.g. ‘because’, and if occurring after the reason, the prediction is usually preceded by an inferential particle such as ‘therefore’:

$$\text{Prophecy} = \text{Prediction} + \text{‘because’} + \text{Reason}$$

$$\text{Prophecy} = \text{Reason} + \text{‘therefore’} + \text{Prediction}$$

In my reading of Hauge, the identification of particles such as *'fordi'* / *'thi'* ('because') and *'saa'* / *'da'* ('therefore') were used to help determine which elements of a prophetic utterance were a prediction or a reason.

Aune describes eight major forms of OT prophetic speech that are made up of predictable arrangements of the five elements of prophetic speech (1983:92-97). Only five of these eight forms were found to be represented in Hauge's prophetic speech: the announcement of judgement, the announcement of salvation, the oracle of assurance, the admonition, and the woe oracle.

Aune also describes six basic forms of early Christian (NT) prophecy (1983:321). Only three of these forms are represented in Hauge's prophetic speech, and it is significant that these forms correspond to some of the main OT forms Hauge uses: the announcement of judgement, the oracle of assurance, and the prescriptive oracle - the NT version of the admonition.

In early Christian prophecy the six basic forms of prophetic speech often occur as complexes which are 'neither stereotypical nor predictable' and use 'optional elements and arrangements' (Aune 1983:325). The same is true of the parts of Hauge's prophetic speech that do not conform to OT models. As in much NT prophecy, Hauge tends to combine the basic prophetic elements and forms into more complex forms, e.g. the parenetic salvation-judgement oracle (Aune 1983:326).

Besides identifying forms of prophetic speech in Hauge which conform to OT and NT patterns, three idiosyncratic forms were found. These were designated the parenetic judgement oracle, the accusation (see Section 3.2 of this chapter) and the apocalyptic interpretation oracle (see Chapter 6, Section 7.2.3b).

1.6 Amplification

Before looking at Hauge's use of these various forms of prophetic speech, it is worth noting that amplification, a characteristic of NT prophecy, is a common occurrence in Hauge's prophetic speech, including in his use of OT forms. In Hauge's early texts amplification consists of his quotation of a verse from the

Bible to which he then adds his own words. The amplification can consist of a basic doctrinal explanation of the verse quoted, but, more importantly, it frequently spells out how the verse pertains to the situation to which Hauge was speaking. In this way Hauge indicates that the words spoken by God to the audience in the biblical context are now spoken afresh to the audience in the current context. In Hauge's texts, amplification is usually signalled by the use of '*det er*' after the quotation of a biblical verse.

An example of amplification which applies the biblical text to the current context is shown in Example 4.1.6 below. Here Hauge is not only explaining Jesus' words from Matt. 23:13-14 to his readers, but, more importantly, he is applying them to a particular situation in his current context which he considers to be their prophetic fulfilment.

Example 4.1.6

Narrative / commentary (accusation / criticism)

Denne Dragelse har jeg ikke hørt videre end en gang været handlet (sic) om af nogen Præst hvilket ikke er at undre paa, thi han drager ingen til Gierrighed, Vellyst og Hofmodighed,

Messenger formula

thi Christus siger:

Accusation

I opæde Enkers Huuse og tage Ære af hverandre,²

Amplification

det er: naar nogen dør, saa skal en Sum Penge ud for at dømme Siælen salig, de Efterlevende til trøst,³

Messenger formula

det bliver, som der staaer hos Propheten Esaias:

Accusation

Mit Folk! de som prise dig salig, de forføre dig.⁴

(Skr. I 87, 29ff)

² Matt. 23:13-14

³ The practice of payment for a '*likpreken*' (Gilje & Rasmussen 2002:183-202)

⁴ Is. 3:12b and 9: 16.

2. Biblical forms of prophetic speech in Hauge

Hauge's usage of the various forms of biblical prophetic speech and his two idiosyncratic forms, the accusation and the parenetic judgement oracle, are described below.

2.1 The Announcement of Judgement

The announcement of judgement is the most common form of oracle in the OT. It consists of a messenger formula, a threat (negative prediction), and an accusation (reason).

The basic form of an announcement of judgement is:

Announcement of judgement = Messenger formula + Threat + Accusation

The messenger formula can be placed anywhere in the prophetic form, just as the accusation can precede or follow the threat. Occasionally the threat frames the accusation and vice versa (Aune 1983:92).

Hauge appears to have recognised the announcement of judgement as a form of prophecy and describes it as an '*Advarsel*' (*Skr.* I 181,6). Fourteen announcements of judgement were identified in Hauge's early texts. Seven are located in *BVD-4*, a chapter in which Hauge expresses vehement criticism of the clergy. All but one of these announcements of judgement (*Skr.* I 90, 13-18) consist of the quotation and amplification of at least one verse from the Bible.⁵ The only announcement of judgement consisting entirely of Hauge's own words is found in *BVD-4* (*Skr.* I 95, 21-24), but this is a variation on the first announcement of judgement that Hauge uses, found in *BVD-3*, which is based on Jer. 2:30a (*Skr.* I 86, 15-21). The announcement of judgement from *BVD-3* reads as shown in example 4.2.1a below:

⁵ *Skr.* I 90:13-18 (*BVD-4*) consists of the quotation of Matt. 23:14 and Lk. 12:47. These verses are not used as a springboard for Hauge's own words. Here these announcements of judgement made by Jesus are used by Hauge as part of a more complex oracle, part of which is shown in Chapter 6, Section 7.2.3a.

Example 4.2.1a

Messenger formula

saa siger Gud hos Propheten Jeremias:

Accusation

Jeg slog eder, I vilde ikke føle det, [Jer. 2C., 30V.]

Amplification

det er: I vil ikke forbedre eder ved min Straf

Messenger formula (indirect)

Dette klager Gud saa inderlig over,

Accusation (apocalyptic interpretation)

thi nu horer de fleste med den store Hore, efter Aabenbaringens 17de Cap., som er al Ondskab og Ugudelighed;

Messenger formula

jeg vidner da frit for alle,

Threat (Hauge's words)

at han staaer med sit Sverd og vil slaae til med sin langmodige Retfærdighed.⁶

(Skr. I 86, 15-21)

The accusation and amplification in this oracle are based on the quotation of Jer. 2:30. Hauge's own words form the remainder of the oracle, although he draws his imagery and language from Rev. 17:1 and Rev. 19:14-15. This oracle from *BVD-3* is similar to a truncated form in Hauge's own words found in *BVD-4* (see Example 4.2.1b):

Example 4.2.1b

Messenger formula

Jeg vidner da for en og hver,

Threat

at Gud vil komme med sit Straffe Sverd og ødelægge,

⁶ c.f. Rev. 19:14-15 (NIV)

Accusation

*dersom I ikke vil omvende Eder af gandske Hierte,
efter hans Villie som er aabenbaret i Bibelen*

(Skr. I 95, 21-24)

The announcement of judgement shown below comes from *GV-Formaning*, a short text that separates the main part of *Guds Viisdom* from the apocalypticism of GV-7. It consists mainly of Hauge's own words, but his use of tree imagery is drawn from Matt. 12:33 and Rev. 22:2, and he also draws on ideas from Rev. 21:8 and John 3:19. The oracle is introduced by an accusation and followed by an announcement of judgement consisting of three accusations and their qualifying threats (see Example 4.2.1c below):

Example 4.2.1c

Messenger formula

Jeg har nu forelagt eder disse Capitler om Guds Villies Fordring, men jeg maae vel klage med Apostelen,

Accusation

at der er haarde Halse og uomskaarne Hierter og øren der modstaaer den Hellig Aand.⁷

Messenger formula

Jeg formaner da

Accusation (with addressee)

eder kiødelige og tørre Træer eller grove Satans Tienere, der lever i Banden, Spil, Horerie og Tyverie, Fraadserie og Drukkenskab, praegtig Klædedragt, Dands og vellystigt Levnet med mere,

Accusation (with addressee)

tillige I naturlige og grønne Træer, der ikke har Troens aandelige Frugter og Loven indskrevet i et sørgeligt Hierte med en sønlig Begierlighed til Gud, men følger deres udvortes fiine Levnet, med Banghed for Verdens Skam og Helvedes Straf;

Threat

begge disse Deelee straffer Gud for deres onde Ord og Gierninger;

⁷ Words of Stephen, the first martyr (Acts 7:51).

Accusation

thi om saadanne er det der staaer i Aab. 21 Cap: at de er frygtagtige, vantroe, vederstyggelige, Manddrabere, Skiørlevnere, Troldfolk, Afgudsdyrkere og alle Løgnere;

Threat

*deres Deel skal være i Ildsøen, som brænder med Ild og Svovel;*⁸

Accusation

hver den som ikke kiender sin egen Fordervelse i inderste Hierte og er igienfødt ved den Hellig Aands Kraft er ikke frie for saadanne Laster,

Threat

*og derfor ikke skal see Guds Rige, hos Joh. 3 Capitel.*⁹

(Skr. I 222, 1-20)

Another of Hauge's variations on the basic form of the announcement of judgement can be found in the oracular complex that forms the whole introductory paragraph of *GV-3* shown in Example 4.2.1d below. This begins with a series of three accusations followed by an announcement of judgement from Prov. 1:25-26, which is amplified by an admonition in Hauge's own words. The admonition acts as the focal axis of the oracle, and is followed by an announcement of judgement from Ps. 28:4-5 and a series of four threats which are amplified by Hauge before the addition of a final legitimation device.

Example 4.2.1d

Accusations¹⁰

Accusation 1

Og Herren saae at Menneskenes Ondskab var stor paa Jorden, og at hans Hiertes Tankers Paafund var ikkun ondt hver Dag,

Messenger formulas

saaledes klager Gud i første Mose-Bogs 6 Cap.¹¹ over Menneskenes Ondskab, og hos Matth. 17 Cap. siger Jesus:

⁸ Rev. 22:8

⁹ Refers to Jn. 8:19

¹⁰ See Section 3.1 for the Accusation as a form of prophetic utterance as opposed to being a structural element of a prophetic utterance

Accusation 2

*Dette Folkets Hierte er blevet forhærdet, at de ikke see med Øynene, ikke høre med Ørene eller førstaae med Hiertet at omvende sig, at Jeg maatte helbrede dem,*¹²

Messenger formulas

saaledes klager Gud meget over Menneskenes Ondskab, og for at forebygge den, bruger han mange Advarsler, som han siger hos Jeremias:

Accusation 3

*Jeg slog eder og I vilde ikke føle det*¹³

Announcement of judgement

Messenger formula

og i Ordsprogernes Bog 1 Cap:

Accusation

og I haver ladet alt mit Raad fare, og I vilde ikke troe min Straf,

Threat

*da vil Jeg lee i eders Ulykke;*¹⁴

Amplification

det er

Admonition¹⁵

Admonition

¹⁶

dem som ikke vil omvende sig men synder paa Guds Naade,

Threat

da vil han lee naar dem kommer i Helvedes Pine,

¹¹ Gen. 6:5

¹² Not Matt. but Jn. 12:40, based on Is. 6:10 (Isaiah's vision)

¹³ Jer. 17:23 'Men de hørde ikke, og bøiede ikke deres øre; men forhærdede deres nakke, (at de vilde) ikke høre, og ei annamme tugt' (Chr. VII)

¹⁴ Prov. 1:25-26

¹⁵ Here 'Admonition' is used to denote a form of prophetic utterance, see Section 2.4

¹⁶ Here 'Admonition' is used to denote a structural element of a prophetic utterance. The double use of this term is Aune's, and does cause some confusion.

Announcement of judgement

Messenger formula

som David siger i den 28 Psalme:

Threat

Herren skal give dem efter deres Ondskabs Gierninger og betale dem hvad de haver fortient,

Accusation

thi de vil ikke agte paa det Herren gjør,¹⁷

Messenger formula

og en andensteds siger han:

Threat 1

Gud veed at fange de Ugudelige [Ps. 9, 16 V.],

Messenger formula

og Paulus siger:

Threat 2

Herren veed at gribe de Vise i deres Træskhed,

Messenger formula

og Christus siger hos Matth. 23de:

Threat 3

I Hug-Orme og Øgle-Unger, hvorledes kunde I undflye Helvedes Dom? [Matth. 23 C., 33 V.]

Messenger formula

Og da siger Herren:

Threat 4

Jeg vil udslette dem af Jorden [1 Mose. 6 C., 7 V.],

Amplification

det er:

Threat (Hauge)

at som den almægtige, retfærdige Gud haver bundet Dievelen med Mørkheds Lænker, at han skal ikke undkomme paa Dommens-Dag, saa veed han og at binde onde Mennesker i sin Tid og udslette dem af Jorden og da belønne dem for sit onde, hvilket vi til Skræk og Afskye for os vil betragte dem som saaledes har levet, saa vi kan blive kloge i andres Skade,

¹⁷ Ps. 28:4-5

Legitimation device

Amen.

(*Skr.* I 180, 30 – *Skr.* I 181, 24)

The other ten of the fourteen announcements of judgement in Hauge's texts are:

Skr. I 89, 16-22 (*BVD-4*)

Skr. I 91, 8-31 (*BVD-4*)

Skr. I 93, 21-26 (*BVD-4*)

Skr. I 166, 9 – *Skr.* 167, 3 (*GV-I*)

Skr. II 49, 14-22 (*SB-NG*)

Skr. I 89, 16-24 (*BVD-4*)

Skr. I 92, 34 – *Skr.* I 93, 4

Skr. I 94, 29 – *Skr.* I 95, 2 (*BVD-4*)

Skr. I 187, 16-30

Skr. II 57, 8-14 (*EL*)

The announcements of judgement in *Skr.* I 187, 16-30 and *Skr.* II 49, 14 – *Skr.* II 50, 6 are closely linked with the woe oracles in these sections of Hauge's writing. An announcement of judgement also forms part of the apocalyptic 'this is that' oracle in *Skr.* I 90, 13-18

2.2 The Announcement of Salvation

This form of OT prophecy is not as common in the biblical prophets as the announcement of judgement. It consists of a messenger formula, promise and reason, although it can lack the supporting reason. The basic form is:

Announcement of salvation = Messenger formula + Promise + Reason

In the OT, these oracles are only found in Hosea, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Isaiah (Aune 1983:92-93). This is reflected in the quotes Hauge uses to construct the two announcements of salvation that occur in *Guds Viisdom*. The example below from *GV-2*, dating from 1796, consists of two quotations – from Hosea and Ezekiel. Hauge ends the oracle with an amplification of Ex. 25:8, which forms a promise in his own words (see Example 4.2.2a below):

Example 4.2.2a

Promise

Jeg vil forløse dem af Helvedes Vold;

Jeg vil gienløse dem fra Døden;

Død! Jeg vil være din Pestilents;

Helvede! Jeg vil være din Ødeleggelse, Fortrydelse skal skiule sig for mine Øyne,

Messenger formula

saaledes siger Gud hos Hoseas i det 13 Cap. 14 Vers,

Promise (Hauge)

at han vil gjøre ved alle dem som søger hannem;

Messenger formula

og hos Ezechiel 36 Capitel siger Herren:

Promise

Jeg vil give eder et nyt Hierte og Jeg vil give eder en nye Aand inden i eder og borttage det Steen Hierte af eders Kiød og give eder et Kiød-Hierte, og Jeg vil give min Aand inden i eder og gjøre det, at I skulde vandre i mine Skikke og holde og gjøre mine Rette;

Messenger formula

alt dette er Guds Kierligheds Løfter

Addressee (with conditional promise)

til alle dem som af ganske Hierte med sin frie Villie søger ham,

Messenger formula

og til dem siger Herren i Mosebog:

Promise

*min store Lyst er at boe hos Mennesket paa Jorden,*¹⁸

Amplification

det er:

Promise (Hauge)

at Gud haver sin Fornøyelse i dem som søger ham i Aand og Sandhed efter hans Villie.

(Skr. I 175, 12-29)

The example from *GV-Tilskrift*, dating from 1799, begins with a parenetic announcement of salvation, i.e. moral or behavioural exhortation and a conditional promise of salvation (Aune 1983:326). The announcement of salvation that follows is composed of a reason preceded by a series of eight promises from the OT prophets Haggai (not Hosea), Joel, Isaiah, Jeremiah,

¹⁸ Ex. 25:8

Ezekiel, and in the NT from Heb. 8:10-11 and Jn. 6:45, which are themselves quotes of Jer. 31:31-34 and Is. 54:13 respectively (see Example 4.2.2b).

Example 4.2.2b

Parenetic announcement of salvation (NT)

Conditional promise

Vil en nu ikke lide Evig Siele-Skade,

Admonition

saa maae Troen rense Hiertet og da bekiende Jesu Navn,

Announcement of salvation (OT)

Promise 1

*hvilke Gud vil endnu en Gang bevæge Himmelen, Jorden, Havet, og det Tørre, og alle Hedningernes Længsel skal komme med Lyst,*¹⁹

Promise 2

*saa det sidste Huuses Herlighed skal blive større end det første, Hos. 2 C.,*²⁰

Promise 3

*og Gud vil indgyde af sin Aand over alt Kiød, at Sønner og Døtre skal prophetere, Joel 3 C. 1 V.*²¹

Promise 4

*optændes et Lys i Norden, Esaias 41 C. 25 V.*²²

Promise 5

*og et stort Folk skal opvækkes fra Jordens Sider, Jerem. 6 C.*²³

Promise 6

Jeg vil,

Messenger formula

siger Herren,

Promise 6 contd.

*stænke reent Vand paa Eder og I skal vorde rene, saa de gamle Stæder skal bygges, Ezech. 36 C.*²⁴

¹⁹ Actually Hagg. 2:6-7

²⁰ Actually Hagg. 2:9a

²¹ Joel 3:1 (NBS, 1920), but Joel 2:28b (NIV)

²² 'Jeg vakte ham fra Norden, og han kom, jeg kaldte ham fra Solens Opgang' (Is. 41:25)

²³ Jer. 6:22

Promise 7

*og jeg vil give min Lov i Eders Sind og indskrive den i Eders Hierter, jeg vil være Eders Gud og I skulle være mit Folk, I skulle ikke lære hver sin Næste og Broder, sigende: Kiende Herren; thi de skal alle kiende mig fra den Lille til den Store, Ebr. 8 C.*²⁵

Promise 8

*og være lærde af Gud, Joh. 6 C. 45 V.,*²⁶

Reason

thi de er alle Børn fødte af en Faders Sæd, og Grene paa et Træe, haver en Art indvortes og udvortes, som Grenen; thi om det end er Forskiel paa deres Størrelse eller Gavernes Betroelse, saa ere de dog hverandre underdanig i Guds frygt og kan alle prophetere og alle formane(r) den eene efter den anden, 1 Cor. 14 C. 31 V., thi de er alle som een, fordi de lærer en Vej;

(Skr. I 242, 10-31)

The first set of quotations in the above example (Promises 1-6) is from the OT prophets and Hauge relates them to God's promises concerning salvation and sanctification for the individual. They echo the admonition '*saa maae Troen rense Hiertet*' in the opening parenetic salvation oracle and reflect Hauge's early primary emphasis in proclaiming the need for repentance to his audience (Skr. II 119, 15-20).²⁷ However, careful examination of the choice of OT quotes indicates that Hauge was also conveying a second emphasis - a divine promise that God intended to mobilise his true followers to preach the gospel and that this would produce a large religious revival in the north, i.e. in Norway.

The use of the NT quotes (Promises 7-8) compounds Hauge's emphasis on corporate mobilisation by shifting the focus to God's promises concerning sonship / daughterhood and the priesthood of all believers. The first of these promises activates a concept which has particular implications for an individual's self worth and perceived opportunities in a context where '*odelsrett*' had significant economic consequences in a society where population growth

²⁴ Ez. 36:25

²⁵ Heb. 8:10-11 / Jer.31:31-34

²⁶ Jn. 6:45 / Is. 54:13

²⁷ '*I Begyndelsen af mine udgivne Skrifter ... jeg anseer det meest nødvendig og nyttigst, at kalle dem til Omvendelse, og lære dem Guds Vei at vandre.*'

was beginning to outstrip available land and employment opportunities. The second of these promises acts to legitimate lay preaching, a theme echoed in the admonition '*da bekiende Jesu Navn*' in the opening parenetic salvation oracle. The significance of these ideas as a resource that can be mobilised to create an alternative community are examined in Chapter 7, Section 4.

Further announcements of salvation occur in *Skr.* I 95, 25-30; *Skr.* II 52, 34 - *Skr.* II 53, 1, which has the form of a beatitude (Aune 1983:323), and *Skr.* II 53, 31-34. The second and third of these oracles share the messenger formulas which introduce the particular series of oracles of which they are a part.

2.3 The Oracle of Assurance

The oracle of assurance is a variation on the announcement of salvation consisting of an admonition 'not to fear' and a promise to which various framing devices are attached (Aune 1983:94).

Oracle of assurance = Framing device + Admonition + Promise

Four oracles of assurance are found in Hauge's early writing. There are two in *SB*, one of which occurs in *SB-Opmuntring* towards the end of a long series of exhortations to right belief and behaviour with which it shares framing devices (see example 4.2.3a below):

Example 4.2.3a

Admonition

og den Trængsel, som vi her har, skal vi ikke frygte for;

Promise

thi I skal have Fred i mig,

Messenger formula

siger Jesus hos Joh. 16 C. 33 v., naar han haver talet om den Sorg og Trængsel, som vi skal have i Verden.

Transition

Og som de onde Satans Redskaber har begyndt med mig, saa vil de nok vedblive;

Admonition

*lad Eder derfor ikke forskrækkes,
men troe(r) paa Gud og Jesu sande Ord, Joh. 14 C.,²⁸ vor gode Bibel og de
Bøger, der følger dens heele Grund.*

(Skr. II 53, 18-25)

A second oracle of assurance occurs towards the end of *EL-Lexien*.^{*} The admonition to rejoice in the face of persecution is an indirect admonition not to fear. This admonition and its qualifying reason are based on a quotation of Rev. 12:12a. The reason also draws on Col. 3:1. Being an exhortation not to fear, it is pertinent that this oracle is found at the end of Hauge's exposition of Rev. 12:7-12 which focuses on the trials true believers will face in the Last Days – a time in which he was convinced he was living (see Example 4.2.3b below):

Example 4.2.3b

Admonition

Glæder eder da,

Addressee

*I Himle!*²⁹

Reason

der haver Eders Borgerskab iblandt Guds Børn,³⁰ og ere opstandne med Christo, at søge de Ting her ovenfra, hvor han er hos Faderens høyre Hand, Coloss. 3 C. 1 v..

(Skr. II 67, 34 - Skr. II 68, 2)

As in Example 4.2.2b, the reason in this example activates the idea of belonging to an alternative community in which all are 'inheritors of the promise', i.e. none

²⁸ Jn.14:1

²⁹ Rev. 12:12a

³⁰ Rev. 12:12a

* The other occurs in Skr. II 68 11-14. See p.184 of thesis.

are excluded by fault of birth. A similar exhortation to rejoice in the face of suffering, based on Rom. 8:17, is found in *SB-Opmuntring* (Skr. II 52, 31 - 34).

2.4 The Admonition

The admonition is an OT prophetic speech form that articulates a call to repentance, taking the form of an admonition qualified by a reason which can, but need not, be a threat or a promise (Aune 1983:95). This bears some similarity to the oracle of assurance, but the content of the admonition differs: the oracle of assurance contains an exhortation not to fear, whereas the admonition contains an exhortation to seek the Lord.

The first example of an admonition (see Example 4.2.4a) occurs in *BVD-3* and consists entirely of Hauge's own words calling the reader to repent:

Example 4.2.4a

Proclamation formula

Jeg beder da enhver

Admonition

at de vil nedfalde i Ydmyghed for Gud og omvende sig af ganske Hierte og bekiende sine Synder med Smerter og aflade dem,

Reason (promise)

saa er Gud meget rund til at forlade for sin kiere Søn Jesu Christi Skyld og formindske Straffen baade timelig og evig.

(Skr. I 86, 21-25)

The second example is more complex in nature, taking up common themes in Hauge's admonitions – to 'enter through the narrow gate' and 'to be doers of the Word rather than merely hearers' (see Example 4.2.4b below). The oracle ends with an announcement of judgment which acts to amplify the exhortations of the admonition and to emphasise the consequences of non-compliance.

Example 4.2.4b

Framing devices

Proclamation formula

Betænk det

Messenger formula

Christus siger:

Admonition 1

Reason

at den som høre mine Ord og ikke gør der efter, han er liig den Mand som bygde sit Huus paa Sand og det blev omstødt.³¹

Legitimation formula

Og Apostelen Jacob siger:

Admonition

vorder Ordets Gjørere og ikke dets Hørere allene, hvormed I bedrage eder selv;³²

Admonition 2

Messenger formula

hertil at befæste, er det mærkværdigt som Christus siger hos Lucas 13de:

Admonition

Lægger vind, det er: stræbe af gandske Hierte at gaae ind igiennem den snævre Port,

Reason

thi mange skal sige: jeg søger at komme ind, men skal dog ikke komme,³³

Amplification

det er:

Announcement of Judgement

Accusation

de elsker Gud og søger at tiene ham, men har dog Kierlighed til sig selv og Verden.

³¹ Matt. 7:24-27

³² Js. 1:22

³³ Lk. 13:24

Threat

*Og derfor med de fem daarlige Jomfruer, der ikke havde Olie i deres Kar og ikke kom ind,*³⁴

(*Skr. I 90, 34 - Skr. I 91, 10*)

Other examples of admonitions that specifically exhort repentance can be found in:

<i>Skr. I 88, 24 - Skr. I 89, 4</i>	<i>Skr. I 92, 28-34</i>	<i>Skr. I 95, 13-15</i>
<i>Skr. I 95, 18-21</i>	<i>Skr. I 96, 31-3</i>	<i>Skr. I 154, 1-4</i>
<i>Skr. I 180, 4-6</i>	<i>Skr. I 189, 10-13</i>	<i>Skr. I 199, 26-31</i>
<i>Skr. I 199, 35 - Skr. 200, 7</i>	<i>Skr. I 200, 9-12</i>	<i>Skr. I 201, 31-33</i>
<i>Skr. II 50, 9-20</i>	<i>Skr. II 70, 10-20</i>	

It is notable that these admonitions are found in the first two of Hauge's early texts, where his emphasis was on calling the reader to repentance. The second two texts emphasise living the Christian life and thus have a tendency towards parenetic oracles (see below).

2.5 Prescriptive (Parenetic) Oracles

The admonitions listed above are calls to repentance similar to OT admonitions. Other oracular admonitions in Hauge contain exhortations to right belief and moral behaviour (parenesis) more characteristic of NT prescriptive oracles (Aune 1983:321). Some of these oracles contain an overt element of conditionality in that fulfilling a certain form of belief or behaviour will avert the threat or appropriate the promise.

An example of a prescriptive oracle can be found in *BVD-Efterskrift*. This oracle, shown in Example 4.2.5a below, consists of two parts. The first part is a conditional parenetic oracle resulting from Hauge's quotation of John 8:31. The second part consists of another conditional parenetic oracle in which the admonition is made up of a series of NT quotations. Hauge's words form the conditional promise, but are based on an idea found frequently in the gospels. As

³⁴ Matt. 25:1-13

this promise contains the notion of eternal salvation, the second part of this prescriptive oracle could also be designated a parenetic announcement of salvation (Aune 1983:326).

Example 4.2.5a

Framing device

Proclamation formula:

og hertil paamindes eder med den Herre Jesu Ord hos Johannes 8:31

Conditional parenetic oracle 1

Admonition

Dersom I blive i mine Ord,

Promise (conditional)

da ere I sandelig mine Disciple og I skal forstaae Sandheden,

Conditional parenetic oracle 2

Admonition

saa tag Troens Skiold³⁵ og Aandens Sverd, som er de herlige Guds Ord,³⁶ der er en saliggørende Kraft for dem som troer³⁷ og av Iver og Kamp stræber at gjøre derefter, og strid dermed indtil Enden,³⁸

Promise (conditional)

da arver vi vist det evige Liv.

(Skr. I 120, 33 - Skr. I 121, 4)

The second example from *EL-Lexien* (shown in Example 4.2.5b below) demonstrates Hauge's propensity for appropriating admonitions from the Pauline epistles, giving legitimation to the belief and behaviour to which he exhorts his readers (see Gundersen 2001:137-140). The conditional promises are appropriations of the words of Jesus from Matthew's gospel and Revelation.

³⁵ Eph. 6:16

³⁶ Eph. 6:17

³⁷ Rom.1:16

³⁸ Matt. 24:13

Again, the content of the second promise could designate the oracle as a parenetic announcement of salvation.

Example 4.2.5b

Conditional parenetic oracle 1

Admonitions

Omgaaes da varlig, ikke som de Uviise, eller Daarer,³⁹ der lader sig drive frem og tilbage paa Veyen,⁴⁰ at følge baade det Onde og det Gode, men som de Viise, der kjøber den beleylige Tid i de gode Dage,⁴¹ at blive stærke at modstaae i de onde Dage, naar Fienden anfalder.⁴² Bliv derfor ikke uforstandige, men viid hvad Herrens Villie er,⁴³ Eph. 5 C.: at efterfølge Jesum villig paa den trange Vey, ved Igienfødselen, at forsage alle Ting for hans Ære Skyld,

Promise (conditional)

da skal de have det hundredefold igien i denne Verden, og i det tilkommende det evige Liv, Math. 19 C.

Conditional parenetic oracle 2 / Parenetic announcement of salvation

Admonition

Thi om Diævelen kaster Eder i Fængsel, og I haver Trængsel, da vær dog troe indtil Døden,

Promise (conditional)

saa vil jeg give dig Livsens Krone, Aabenb. 2 C. 10 v.,

Messenger formula

siger Herren.

(Skr. II 68, 2-14)

The most intense form of parenetic admonition in Hauge's early writings is found in *SB-Opmuntring* (Skr. II 52,10 - Skr. II 53,35). This short text is based on 1 Jn.1:12-14 - a series of exhortations to specific age and gender groups, and

³⁹ Eph. 5:15

⁴⁰ Idea taken from Eph.4:14

⁴¹ Eph. 5:16

⁴² Idea taken from Eph.6:10

⁴³ Eph. 5:17

is amplified by various admonitions from the Pauline epistles. None of the admonitions are conditional, but most are supported by reasons.

Other parenetic (prescriptive) oracles can be found in

<i>Skr.</i> I 104,11- <i>Skr.</i> I 105,33	<i>Skr.</i> I 96, 22-26	<i>Skr.</i> I 103,28-29
<i>Skr.</i> I 106,21- <i>Skr.</i> I 107,3	<i>Skr.</i> I 126,32 - <i>Skr.</i> I 127,1	<i>Skr.</i> I 206,2-6
<i>Skr.</i> I 222,20 - <i>Skr.</i> I 223,4	<i>Skr.</i> I 223,9 - <i>Skr.</i> I 224,5	<i>Skr.</i> II 53,25-31
<i>Skr.</i> II 52,10-31	<i>Skr.</i> II 53,1-18	

Some of these admonitions are conditional, and some do contain an element of a call to repentance although the main emphasis is on right belief and behaviour. Just as an adjective can function as a noun, so the various prophetic elements can shift function depending on their usage, e.g. a beatitude (an announcement of salvation) can form part of an admonition when coupled with an appropriate reason.

Numerous other admonitions can be found in Hauge, but these are not considered to be specifically prophetic as they have no framing devices save those that begin and end the chapter in which they are found. These ‘general’ admonitions are only considered to be prophetic in the sense of prophecy considered as proclamation or preaching of the Word of God.

2.6 The Woe Oracle

The woe oracle is a form of prophetic speech found in the OT and NT. It consists of a ‘woe form’ and a threat (Aune 1983:96-7). Woe oracles are often found in series, e.g. the ‘seven woes’ Jesus directed at the Pharisees in Matt. 23:1-29. Including the woe from Is. 6:5 which Hauge incorporates into his prophetic call narrative in *GV-Tilskrift* (*Skr.* I 243,34ff), there are eight instances in which he uses woe oracles from the OT prophets, Jesus and Revelation as announcements of judgement. The majority of these are found in *GV-4*, in which Hauge attacks ‘*de forførreriske Lærere og deres Frugter*’ (*Skr.* I 185, 9-10). This usage is in accordance with Aune’s observation that the woe oracle is intended to ‘contrast the heights of human audacity and pride and the depths of despair

which the Day of the Lord will bring' (Aune 1983:97) – see the reference to 'elendig Straf og Pine' and 'Straf i helvedes Pine' in Example 4.2.6 below.

Example 4.2.6 (see below) is found in *GV-4*. It utilises a series of woes from Is. 5, a little known woe from Lk. 6 and some of the seven woes spoken by Jesus against the Pharisees in Matt. 23. It is clear that through these woe oracles and their amplifications Hauge was attacking the preaching of the clergy and their misplaced priorities. This assault is compounded by two further woe oracles in *GV-4*⁴⁴ and one in *GV-Forsvar*⁴⁵ which quote woe forms from Is. 5:20, Matt. 23:15, and the series of four woes from Lk.6:24-25.⁴⁶

Example 4.2.6

Addressee (with admonition)

disse Dievelens Børn [Lærerne] skulde læse

Messenger formula

*det Gud siger hos Propheten Esaias i det 3 Cap:*⁴⁷

Woe forms (accusations)

*Vee dem som siger om det Onde godt, og det Gode ondt, som gjør Mørket til Lyset og Lyset til Mørket, som gjør bittert til sødt og sødt til bittert;*⁴⁸

*Vee dem som ere viise for deres egne Øyne og forstandige hos sig selv;*⁴⁹

*Vee dem som er vældige til at drikke Viin og duelige Mænd til at blande og skienke stærk Drik. De som dømmme en Ugudelig at have Ret for Gavers Skyld og bortvender de Retfærdiges Ret fra hver af dem;*⁵⁰

Amplification

dette Vee er elendig Straf og Pine dem skal faae som hykler og lyver og siger om det Onde at være godt, og gjør Guds sande Ords Lys til Mørkhed og indfører sine forventede Lærdomme til Lyset igien, og saa at dem ligger i Fraadserie og Drukkenskab,

⁴⁴ *Skr.* I 189, 14-25, which forms part of an apocalyptic interpretation oracle

⁴⁵ *Skr.* I 234, 21 - *Skr.* I 235, 5

⁴⁶ The woe oracle in *EL-Lexien* quotes the woe form from Rev.12:12

⁴⁷ Actually Is. 5, but two different woe forms than those quoted can be found in Is. 3:9 and Is. 3:11

⁴⁸ Is. 5:20

⁴⁹ Is. 5:21

⁵⁰ Is. 5:22-23

Messenger formula

hvorom Christus siger:

Woe form (accusation)

*Vee eder som ere fyldte, I skal hungre;*⁵¹

Amplification

dog kan saadanne tale gode Ord,

Messenger formula

som han og siger hos Matth. 12 Capitel:

Accusation

*Hvorledes kan I tale gode Ord efterdi I ere onde,*⁵²

Messenger formula

og han siger i det 15de Capitel:

Accusation

*I haver til intet gjort Guds Bud for eders Skik Skyld, som er for eders Ondskab Skyld,*⁵³

Messenger formula with addressee

og i det 23 Cap. beskiermer Christus mere saadanne store Lærere og siger:

Woe form (accusation)

*Vee eder I Skriftkloge og Phariseer, I Øyenskalke, at I tillukke Himmerigesrige til for Menneskene og I gaae der ikke ind selv, og dem som ville gaae derind, lade ikke gaae;*⁵⁴

Amplification

det er, at dem falskt udlagde Skriften, og dertil forbød andre [at lære Guds Ord], som og de onde Dievelens Redskaber gjør endnu,

Messenger formula

og han siger:

Woe form (accusation)

*de gjør alle deres Gierninger, at de kan sees af Folket, og gjøre store Sømme paa deres Klæder*⁵⁵

*og opæder Enkers Huuse,*⁵⁶ *ere blinde Veyledere,*⁵⁷ *dog under et Skin bede længe,*⁵⁸

⁵¹ Lk. 6:25a, part of a series of 4 woes following a series of 3 beatitudes

⁵² Matt.12:34, not part of a woe

⁵³ Matt.15:3, not part of a woe

⁵⁴ Matt.23:13, part of the 1st of a series of seven woes spoken by Jesus against the Pharisees.

⁵⁵ Matt.23:5, not part of a woe

⁵⁶ Matt.23:14, a part of an extra woe following 1st woe, but not included in all NT manuscripts

Threat

*og derfor skal de faae des større Straf i Helvedes Pine;*⁵⁹

Messenger formula

han siger videre:

Woe form (accusation)

*de seer ud ligesom kalkede Graver, som synes deylige udvortes, men indentil ere de fulde af Ureenhed,*⁶⁰ *I Øgle-Unger,*⁶¹

Threat (as a rhetorical question)

*hvorledes kunde I undflye Helvedes Døm?*⁶²

(Skr. I 186, 21- Skr. I 187, 16)

The eight instances of the woe form in Hauge's early texts are:

Skr. I 89, 31-33	stands between 2 announcements of judgement
Skr. I 101, 14-19	forms part of apocalyptic interpretation oracle
Skr. I 186, 21- Skr. I 187, 16	stands alone (quoted above)
Skr. I 189, 14-24	forms part of a 'this is that' oracle
Skr. I 190, 25-32	unsure if this is oracular
Skr. I 234, 21 - Skr. I 235,5	stands alone
Skr. II 67, 28-34	stands alone
Hauge also quotes the woes from Luke 11 as a frontispiece to <i>GV-Portale</i>	

2.7 Salvation - Judgement Oracles

The salvation-judgment oracle is an OT form that developed from the juxtaposition of the announcement of judgement with the announcement of salvation as a means of legitimating the ideology of a visionary group advocating apocalyptic eschatology against a group which had control of the hegemonic cult (Aune 1983:93). This form developed into the most common complex genre of prophetic speech in early Christianity in which admonitions to moral behaviour qualified with conditional promises of salvation balanced accusations discouraging undesirable behaviour intensified by conditional threats (Aune 1983:326). This form of prophetic utterance supported the 'two ways' teaching characterised by Jesus' imagery of the broad and narrow gate, and the ethical catalogues of the NT epistles. These ethical catalogues introduce an element of parenesis to the OT form of the salvation- judgement oracle.

⁵⁷ Matt. 23:16a, part of the 3rd woe

⁵⁸ Matt. 23:14a

⁵⁹ Matt.23:14b

⁶⁰ Matt.23:27-28, part of 6th woe

⁶¹ Matt.23:33a

⁶² Matt.23:33b

Both ‘two ways’ imagery (e.g. *Skr.* I 88,1ff) and ethical catalogues with their parenesis (e.g. *Skr.* I 89, 4ff) are a common feature of Hauge’s early texts. Example 4.2.7 from *GV-3* is a salvation-judgement oracle that clearly demonstrates ‘two ways’ ideology (see below):

Example 4.2.7

Framing device

Proclamation formula

Jeg beder da

Salvation oracle

Admonition

at enhver betænke sig hvilken Vey han er paa, efter Skriften; dersom han er paa den trange og elsker Christum og holder hans Befalinger,

Promise (conditional)

saa er det godt,

Judgement oracle

Accusation

hvis ikke,

Threat (conditional)

da bliver de udkast[et] i det yderste Mørke alle som ikke omvender sig af Hiertet efter hans Villie.

(*Skr.* I 184, 24-29)

Four other salvation-judgement oracles can be found in *Skr.* I 88, 10-15 (*BVD-4*); *Skr.* I 94, 23-29 (*BVD-4*); *Skr.* I 95, 19-13 (*BVD-4*); *Skr.* I 97, 34 - *Skr.* I 98, 8 (*GV-5*). This figure is deceptively low in relation to the pervasiveness of the idea of the ‘two ways’ throughout Hauge’s early texts at the didactic, narrative (including autobiographical) and prophetic level. It is worth noting that the majority of the salvation-judgement oracles that Hauge does use are found in

BVD-4, the chapter in which he, as a representative of the minority visionary group, criticises the leaders of the ‘hierocratic cult’ (Aune 1983:93).

3. Forms of prophetic speech specific to Hauge

Although most of Hauge’s prophetic speech can be classified according to various forms of prophetic speech from the OT or NT, three idiosyncratic forms have been identified. One of these idiosyncratic forms has been designated the ‘apocalyptic interpretation oracle’, and it often features what has been termed as a ‘*this is that*’ function. This type of prophetic speech form was mentioned briefly in the introductory description of forms of prophetic speech in this chapter, especially in relation to the use of amplification (Chapter 4, Section 1.6), but will be discussed more fully in Chapter 6, Section 7. The remaining two forms of prophetic speech idiosyncratic to Hauge have been designated as ‘the accusation’ and ‘the parenetic judgement oracle’.

3.1 The Accusation

The accusation is essentially a messenger formula followed by an accusation. Unlike the announcement of judgement there is no appended threat (prediction), although a threat could be implied in some cases. The accusation could be considered to be a truncated form of the announcement of judgement, or as part of an announcement of judgement in which a long series of accusations is qualified by one threat; however, the accusation seems to be a common occurrence in Hauge, so it has been described here as a separate form.

The series of accusations in Example 4.3.1a (see below) come from *BVD-4*, in which Hauge criticises the clergy. Although these accusations are located within a series of announcements of judgement and woe oracles – both forms of prophetic speech which themselves contain elements of accusation – Hauge’s specific accusations do not appear to belong to the utterances which precede and follow them, but their content appears to indicate that they stand alone.

Example 4.3.1a

Messenger formula

og Christus siger:

Accusation 1.

I ere af en Fader, Dievelen, og gjør denne eders Faders Begiering; han var en Manddrabere af Begyndelsen og kunde ikke blive staaende i Sandheden, thi Sandheden er ikke i hannem; naar han taler Løgnen, da taler han af sit eget, thi han er en Løgnere og dens Fader.⁶³

Proclamation formula

Dette betænke enhver,

Accusation 2.

at hvo som hykler og lyver, han er Dievelens Barn.

(Skr. I 89, 22-31)

The following series of accusations in Example 4.3.1b is found in *SB-Lexcién*, an exposition of Rev.7:1 in which Hauge equates the symbolism of ‘the four winds’ to four types of clergy who deceive the people. The accusations, derived from Jer. 23, are directed specifically at the clergy (*Propheterne*). It is notable that Hauge has only used the accusations from the announcements of judgment in Jer. 23:9-11, 16-18 and 21-22; the qualifying threats from Jer. 23:12; 19-20; 23-24 have not been quoted. It is possible that the threats were not final enough to communicate Hauge’s apocalyptic understanding of the emergence of false teachers as a sign of living in the Last Days.

Example 4.3.1b

Messenger formula

Nu kan man klage med Propheten, Jer, 23 C., anlangende Propheterne:

Accusation

mit Hierte er forstyrret inden i mig: alle mine Been bæve for Herrens hellige Ords Skyld; thi Landet er fuld af Hoerkarle, og sørger for Forbandelse; thi

⁶³ Jn. 8:44

*deres Løb er ondt, og deres Magt er ikke Ret, da baade Præsten og Propheterne ere Øyenskalke. Jeg har og funden deres Ondskab i mit Huus,*⁶⁴

Messenger formula
siger Herren;

Accusation

*de gjøre Eder forføngelige, og siger Flux til dem, som foragte mig; Herren haver talet: I skal have Fred, og de sige til hver, som vandre i sit Hiertes Stivhed, der skal ingen Ulykke komme over Eder;*⁶⁵ *Jeg sendte ikke Propheterne og de løbe: Jeg taleder ikke til dem, og de spaaede, og dersom de havde staaet i mit hemmelige Raad, og ladet mit Folk høre mit Ord, da havde de omvendt dem fra deres onde Veye.*⁶⁶

(Skr. II 42, 7-20)

Other accusations can be found in

Skr. I 87, 29 - Skr. I 88, 1

Skr. I 88, 8-10

Skr. I 88, 21-24

Skr. I 92, 14-18

Skr. I 93, 10-20

Skr. I 223, 4-9

Skr. II 44, 29 - Skr. II 45, 6

It is notable that the majority of these accusations occur in *BVD-4*, a chapter in which Hauge criticises the clergy openly, though it is surprising that accusations do not play a significant role in *EL-Tillæg*, a polemical text containing criticism of the clergy which led to Hauge's final arrest.

3.2 The parenetic judgement oracle

This form of prophetic speech is found in the last two of the four refutations in *SB- Nogle Giendrivelse*.⁶⁷ The first two refutations take the form of an announcement of judgement and an admonition respectively. The third refutation is a hybrid form which contains an accusation followed by an admonition qualified by a conditional threat, to which is appended another short accusation and threat. The fourth refutation consists of an accusation and an admonition.

⁶⁴ Jer. 23:9-11

⁶⁵ Jer. 23:16-17

⁶⁶ Jer. 23:21-22

⁶⁷ *Skr. II 49,6 - Skr. II 52,8*

These last two refutations appear to be a complex hybrid of the announcement of judgement and the admonition which demonstrates a degree of parenesis. No framing devices are present, but the use of the second person pronoun and imperative forms of verbs to address the reader gives the impression that this is ‘the prophet speaking in his own person’ in reply to accusations that have been levelled against him (Aune 1983:333). Example 4.3.2 below shows the third refutation divided into its basic prophetic structural elements:

Example 4.3.2

Accusation

I bekiender Eders Synder med Trældoms Frygt, og Eders Taarer er ikke Bods Taarer til Omvendelse ... de er liig en lad Tiener, der ikke vil arbeyde uden Herren gaaer over ham.

Admonition

Derfor betænk, at vi skal være troe at aagre med vort Pund, naar Herren drager Udenlands,

Threat (conditional)

ellers vil han komme og slaae den Utroe ihjel, Luc. 19 C.; og altsaa ere og blive I Syndere iblandt de Ubodfærdiges Tal;

Accusation

thi det Dybes Fest, der er imellem Guds retfærdige Vredes Ild over Eders Misgierninger, gjør Skilsmisse imellem Gud og Eder, Es. 59 C. 2 v.⁶⁸

Threat

Derfor skal de opgive den Aands Gnist de haver, Zacharias 13 Cap. 8 v.

(Skr. II 50, 23 – Skr. II 51, 14)

4. Analysis

Having identified the various forms of prophetic speech in Hauge’s texts, it becomes clear that the forms are not present in comparable numbers nor evenly distributed throughout the four texts.

⁶⁸ Is. 59:2 (Chr. VII): ‘Men eders misgierninger gjøre skilsmis imellom eder, og imellem eders Gud’.

The distribution of the particular forms of prophetic speech in Hauge's four early texts is shown in Table 4.4.1 (see next page). The forms of prophetic speech have been presented in two groups: criticising forms and energising forms. Criticising forms contain an accusation or a call to repentance. Energising forms announce salvation or declare action that should be undertaken as a result of obtaining salvation.

The data indicates some interesting trends. Firstly, it can be seen that the majority of Hauge's specific prophetic speech occurs in *BVD* (33 instances), followed closely by *GV* (20 instances). Comparatively speaking, *SB* and *EL* contain relatively little specific prophetic speech (13 and 6 instances respectively). In the light of Hauge's changing use of framing devices indicating his developing prophetic consciousness between the years 1796 -1800, the decrease in the use of specific forms of prophetic speech over this period of time may seem puzzling. However, if the use of specific forms of prophetic speech can be explained as a reflection of Hauge's awareness of an initial need to legitimate his speech in a context where he had no official authority to speak, then presenting his message as words from God, especially if appropriated from an authoritative text such as the Bible, would give it authority and credence. Hauge's growing prophetic consciousness would thus obviate the need to present his speech in this way, as this consciousness would have brought with it a growing conviction (*kallsbevisshet*) that God had authorised him to speak on his behalf.

Secondly, it is noticeable that there are almost twice as many criticising prophecies as energising prophecies in Hauge's early texts (45 and 27 instances respectively). This is particularly demonstrated in *BVD* and *GV*, where specific forms of prophetic speech are concentrated (ratios of 22:11 and 14:6). *SB* and *EL* demonstrate more of an even balance between the few examples of criticising and energising forms they contain (ratios of 6:7 and 3:3).

	TEXT	BVD	GV	SB	EL
	Totals				
Announcements of judgement	14	8	4	1	1
Woe oracles	4	1	2	-	1
The Accusation	9	6	1	2	-
Parenetic judgement oracles	2	-	-	2	-
Admonition (to repentance)	16	7	7	1	1
Criticising prophecies (Totals)	45	22	14	6	3
Salvation – judgement oracles	5	4	1	-	-
Prescriptive oracles	13	6	3	3	1
Announcements of salvation	5	1	2	2	-
Oracles of assurance	4	-	-	2	2
Energising prophecies (Totals)	27	11	6	7	3
Overall totals (Totals)	72	33	20	13	6

Table 4.4.1: The distribution of forms of prophetic speech in Hauge's early texts

As previously mentioned, criticising forms contain accusations, i.e. God's perspective on a perceived intolerable situation; a call to repentance in the form of a threat as to what will happen if repentance does not take place; or an admonition to repent / seek the Lord qualified by a reason that may be a threat or a promise. The abundance of criticising forms in *BVD* and *GV* can thus be considered as a reflection of Hauge's perception of his initial task as being to call people to repentance: '*I Begyndelsen af mine udgivne Skrifter ... jeg anseer det meest nødvendig og nyttigst, at kalle dem til Omvendelse, og lære dem Guds Vei at vandre*' (*Skr. II* 219,15-20).⁶⁹ The particular energising forms found in *BVD* and *GV* also reflect this task. These consist mainly of salvation-judgement oracles, in which the results of unrepentance are compared and contrasted with

⁶⁹ 'Elskelige Læsere!' in *Christendommens Lærdoms Grunde, Andet Hefte* (1800)

those of repentance as a means of persuading the reader to the latter; and prescriptive oracles, which exhort the reader to right belief and behaviour that indicates repentance is genuine and ensures salvation is preserved. Announcements of salvation, in which unconditional salvation from God is promised to the people, are rare in *BVD* and *GV* (one and two instances respectively). This reflects Hauge's view that salvation is more than a matter of head knowledge that is received by faith with no further action required by the individual, but rather a matter of the heart demonstrated in the active change in lifestyle of the 'true believer'. Hauge was adamant, following the view of Pontoppidan,⁷⁰ that no one could '*sove sig ind i Himmelrig*' (*Skr.* I 84, 24) but that faith was demonstrated by action because '*den Tiener er Herren meest behagelig, som gjør efter hans Befalinger*' (*Skr.* I 132, 8).

A closer look at the distribution of the forms of prophetic speech between *BVD* and *GV* shows that, although *GV* is twice as long as *BVD* (40,531 words compared to 21,413 words), it contains almost half the number of specific prophetic utterances found in *BVD*. *GV* was written within four months of *BVD*, and although Hauge's prophetic consciousness would have developed somewhat between the writing of the first and second texts (Mannsåker 1947b:137), the reduction of the number of specific speech forms in *GV* is a reflection of the more didactic nature of the text in which Hauge sought to discuss '*Guds Væsen, Gierning og Villie og dets Efterlevelse*' (*Skr.* I 151, 7). However, an examination of the distribution of the various forms of prophetic speech across the various chapters of both *BVD* and *GV* indicates some consistency of their use between the two texts.

The distribution of the instances of specific prophetic speech in *BVD* is shown in Table 4.4.2 below. The majority of instances are found in *BVD-4*, which is entitled '*Om Christendommens Lærdom og dens Agtpaagivenhed*'.⁷¹ In this

⁷⁰ See *Forklaring, Spørsmål* 176: '*de bedrage Sjælene med Saligheds Haab, indtil de vaagne i Helvede*'.

⁷¹ *Skr.* I 86, 26 – *Skr.* I 95, 32

	Chapter	BVD3	BVD4	BVD5	BVD Form.	BVD E.Skr.	BVD Bidrag
	Totals						
Announcements of judgement	8	1	7	-	-	-	-
Woe oracles	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
The Accusation	6	-	6	-	-	-	-
Paranetic judgement Oracles	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
The Admonition	7	1	5	1	-	-	-
Criticising prophecies (Totals)	22	2	19	1	0	0	0
Salvation – judgement oracles	4	-	3	1	-	-	-
Prescriptive oracles	6	-	-	2	2	1	1
Announcements of salvation	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Oracles of assurance	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Energising prophecies (Totals)	11	0	4	3	2	1	1
Overall Totals	33	2	23	4	2	1	1

Abbreviations for Figure 3.4

BVD Form. = *BVD-Formaning*

BVD E.Skr. = *BVD-Efterskrift*

N.B. *BVD-Fortale*, *BVD-1* and *BVD-2* are not included in this presentation of data as they contain no specific prophetic speech.

Table 4.4.2: The distribution of specific forms of prophetic speech in *BVD*

chapter Hauge discusses how ‘*den døde tro frelser ingen*’ and in doing so lays much of his criticism at the feet of the clergy (Mannsåker 1947a:69). Of the prophetic utterances in this chapter, nineteen have a criticising function and four have an energising function. It appears that in order to criticise the clergy, who are representatives of the State in the local context, Hauge resorts to the inherent

authority of prophetic speech to legitimate his message. This is the only chapter in *BVD* to contain a series of woe oracles and any accusations; all of which are directed at the clergy whom Hauge compares with the Pharisees of the New Testament. The chapter also contains five admonitions to repentance; again directed at the clergy. The remaining admonition to repentance occurs in *BVD*-3, a chapter in which Hauge levels God's judgement at the population in general by declaring in an announcement of judgement that '*han [Gud] staaer med sit Sverd og vil slaae til med sin langmodige Retfærdighed*' because '*nu de fleste [hører] med den store Hore, efter Aabenbaringens 17de Cap., som er al Ondskab og Ugudelighed*' (Skr. I 86, 15-21).

As mentioned, *GV* contains fewer specific prophetic utterances than *BVD*. The distribution of the twenty oracles in *GV* is shown in Figure 4.4.3 below (see next page) and is of note in comparison with the distribution in *BVD*, especially in regard to Hauge's criticism of the clergy. The main criticism of the clergy occurs in *GV*-4, which contains three oracles with a criticising function. This chapter opens with criticism that is not specifically oracular, but this soon becomes an extended woe oracle against the clergy using the woe forms Jesus used against the Pharisees in Matt. 23.⁷² This is followed directly by an announcement of judgement that contains a series of threats concerning the punishment that these '*Dievelens Børn*' will receive on the Day of Judgement. Hauge then qualifies his observations and prophetic statements by using an apocalyptic interpretation oracle in which he compares the clergy with the grasshoppers that emerge from the abyss in Rev. 9 (see Chapter 6, Section 7.3). The prophetic criticism is concluded with an admonition to the general readership to examine themselves if they want to inherit eternal life and to look out for those who '*bedriver de opregnede Laster*'.⁷³ The remainder of the chapter, in which Hauge discusses '*dets Følger hvad de falske Propheter eller Lærere foraarsager*', is of a didactic nature.

⁷² Skr. I 186, 21 – Skr. I 187, 16

⁷³ Skr. I 189, 10-13

	Chap.	<i>GV Ft.</i>	<i>GV 1</i>	<i>GV 2</i>	<i>GV 3</i>	<i>GV 4</i>	<i>GV 5</i>	<i>GV 6</i>	<i>GV Fm.</i>	<i>GV Fsv.</i>	<i>GV Tilskr.</i>
	Totals										
Announcem'ts of judgement	4	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-
Woe oracles	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-
Accusation	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Paranetic judgement oracles	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Admonition	7	1	-	1	-	1	4	-	-	-	-
Criticising prophecies (Totals)	14	1	1	1	1	3	4	0	2	1	0
Salvation - judgement oracles	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Prescriptive oracles	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-
Announcem'ts of salvation	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Oracles of assurance	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Energising prophecies (Totals)	6	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	1
Overall Totals	20	1	1	2	2	3	5	0	4	1	1

Abbreviations:

GV-Ft. = *GV-Fortale* *GV-Fm.* = *GV-Formaning*

GV-Fsv. = *GV-Forsvar* *GV-Tilskr.* = *GV Tilskrift*

Table 4.4.3: The distribution of specific forms of prophetic speech in *GV*

GV-5, the subject of which is '*Om Omvendelsen og hvorledes den bør skee*', accounts for the use of the four admonitions to repentance and the one prescriptive oracle in *GV*. The announcement of judgement and accusation in *GV-Formaning* serve as a concluding warning to the reader, whereas the woe oracle in *GV-Forsvar* is directed at the clergy in this short text in which Hauge defends what he wrote in *BVD*.

Regarding energising forms of prophetic speech, *GV* contains two significant announcements of salvation compared to the short announcement of salvation with which Hauge ends *BVD-4*.⁷⁴ The latter contains an element of conditionality that serves to emphasise the need for repentance, which is the key theme of *BVD-4*. The announcements of salvation in *GV-2* and *GV-Tilskrift* are of an entirely different nature. There is no conditionality - the first, from *GV-2*, consists entirely of the predicted promises of God's intention for the individual (*Skr.* I 175, 12-29). The second, from *GV-Tilskrift*, consists of God's promises for the community of Christian believers in the Last Days (*Skr.* I 242, 10-31). The significance of this was discussed earlier in this chapter in relation to announcements of salvation (Example 4.2.2b in Section 2.2).

Finally, it is worth noting that Hauge's final two early texts, *SB* and *EL*, besides containing fewer oracles than *BVD* or *GV*, the ratio of criticising oracles to energising oracles moves from 2:1 to 1:1 (see Table 4.4.1 above). The decreased number of oracles has been attributed to Hauge's growing prophetic consciousness and the reduction in the need to legitimate his speech by using formal prophetic speech types. This decrease is also attributable to the more devotional and pastoral nature of the writing, which was intended to build up the emerging community of believers in their faith rather than call back-sliders and non-believers to repentance.

The two accusations in *SB* occur one each in *SB-Lexcién* (*Skr.* II 42, 7-20) and *SB-Evangelium* (*Skr.* II 44, 29 – *Skr.* II 45, 6) and are the only oracles in each of those texts. The latter forms part of Hauge's exposition of the four evil angels in Rev. 7:1 in relation to four types of clergy he has observed in his context. The announcement of judgement and parenetic judgement oracles are found in *SB-Giendrivelser* in which Hauge counteracts various criticisms made against him. Each of the four *Giendrivelser* refutes the criticism of him made by one of the four types of clergy discussed in *SB-Lexcién*. It is notable that even by 1799,

⁷⁴ 'og saa mange som dertil giver sin alvorlige Villie og derpaa gjøre Vold, det er: at de af yderste Flid med alvorlig Forsæt afstaae det Onde og anholde hos Gud med Bøn om den Hellig Aands Hielp, dem lover Herren at fri fra Fristelses Stund, naar han vil friste jorderige.' (*Skr.* I 95, 25-30).

when Hauge appears to have stopped using critical prophetic speech forms to address his general readership, he still feels the need to appropriate the authority of prophetic speech when refuting the criticisms of the clergy with criticisms of his own.

All the energising oracles in *SB* are found in *SB-Opmuntring*, the function of which is to encourage the new communities of believers in the face of mounting difficulties. These, and the oracle of assurance in *EL-Lexien*, spring from Hauge's conviction that he and his followers were living in the Last Days in which true believers would face ever increasing persecution.

5. Conclusion

The investigation of Hauge's prophetic speech in this chapter began with the proposal that although Hauge's early texts could be considered prophecy in their entirety due to the presence of framing devices at the beginning and end of each of these texts and their constituent chapters, the messenger formulas and proclamation formulas which punctuated the text were a possible indication of the presence of specific prophetic utterances that are given emphasis above and beyond the more general proclamation of the Word of God.

A close analysis of the texts concerned revealed that the messenger and proclamation devices in the body of the texts indicated the presence of specific prophetic speech which conformed to the norms of two of the three main biblical prophetic genres described by Sandy (2002): announcements of judgement and announcements of salvation. As the third main genre, apocalyptic, has significantly different characteristics to the other two genres, only prophetic speech related to announcements of judgement and announcements of salvation was examined in this chapter. It was pointed out that the announcement of judgement and its related forms function as prophetic criticism; whereas the announcement of salvation and its related forms function as prophetic energising (N.B. apocalyptic contains both functions).

The criticising and energising forms of prophetic speech used in Hauge's early texts are listed below (Figure 4.5). All are biblical forms, except for the accusation and the parenetic judgement oracle, which are forms idiosyncratic to Hauge.

Criticising forms	Energising forms
Announcements of judgement	Announcements of salvation
The admonition	The oracle of assurance
The woe oracle	Prescriptive oracles
The salvation- judgement oracle	The salvation- judgement oracle
The accusation	
The parenetic judgement oracle	
Figure 4.5: The criticising and energising forms of prophetic speech in Hauge's early texts	

The investigation found that the majority of Hauge's specific prophetic speech occurs in *BVD* and *GV*, whereas *SB* and *EL* contain relatively little. As Hauge's prophetic consciousness has been shown to have grown between 1796 -1800, the decrease in his use of specific forms of prophetic speech can be explained by a decreasing need to authorise his message by presenting it as spoken directly from God.

Hauge's early texts, particularly in *BVD* and *GV*, contain twice as many criticising prophecies as energising prophecies. This is a reflection of Hauge's belief that his initial task was to call people to repentance. The energising forms found in *BVD* and *GV* also reflect this task to some degree by stating the rewards of salvation.

Purely energising forms are rare in *BVD* and *GV*. This probably results from Hauge's view that salvation required a response and decisive action on the part of the individual. It was this emphasis which led to Hauge's teaching being described as '*lovisk*' (legalistic) and which raised the question as to whether it was truly in line with the Lutheran doctrine that the individual is saved by faith alone, not by works.

An examination of the distribution of specific prophetic speech in *BVD* and *GV* indicated that the majority of instances, mainly of a critical nature, occurred in chapters which censured the clergy (*BVD-4* and *GV-4*). It appears that in order to criticise these men who did not live up to his understanding of Christian lifestyle and belief, Hauge resorted to using the inherent authority of prophetic speech to legitimate his message. The practice of using prophetic speech to authorise a difficult message in a particular context was not unknown in eighteenth-century Denmark-Norway, e.g. the political pamphlet '*Til Kongen*' written in 1772 by P. Suhm in which OT prophetic forms were used to criticise the king in a context where freedom of the press had been limited after Struensee's fall from power (Berge 1992:19-35).

Although energising forms of specific prophetic speech were found to be rare in *BVD* and *GV*, it is significant that the two key examples focus on God's promises to the individual (*GV-2*) and God's promises for the community of Christian believers in the Last Days (*GV-Tilskrift*).⁷⁵ The latter contains language that initiates the energising of a hope that God has specific plans for Norway (*[det skal] optændes et Lys i Norden, Esaias 41 C. 25 V.*) and that a new form of community will come into being which reinstates the priesthood of all believers and instigates a new understanding of sonship and daughterhood with the combined end result that '*det sidste Huuses Herlighed skal blive større end det første, Hos. 2 C.*'

⁷⁵ *Skr. I* 175,12-29, *GV-2* and *Skr. I* 242,10-31, *GV-Tilskrift*

This examination of the form and distribution of specific prophetic speech in Hauge's early texts indicates that prophetic imagination was at work. Forms functioning as prophetic criticism were directed not only at the individual in need of repentance, but primarily at a '*prestestand*' (clergy) in need of reform. Forms functioning as prophetic energising sketched an outline of an alternative community which Hauge envisioned would arise in Norway, something which was in itself indirectly critical of the status quo. A cursory examination of the content of these prophetic forms hints that the 'symbols' which Hauge's prophetic imagination reactivated or generated might include a new understanding of sonship and daughterhood (family), and of the priesthood of all believers. These are ideas which will be examined in more detail in Chapter 7.

Chapter 5: Hauge's Apocalyptic Urgency

1. Introduction

Our investigation into Hauge's prophetic speech so far has concentrated on forms that bear comparison with the two main OT genres of prophecy - 'announcements of judgement', which have a criticising function, and 'announcements of salvation', which have an energising function. However, as mentioned briefly in Chapter 4 (Section 1.3), prophecy has another major genre - apocalyptic (Sandy 2002:107). Just as Hauge made use of announcements of judgement and announcements of salvation from the biblical text, he also made use of the Bible's apocalyptic texts. An examination of Hauge's prophetic speech would not therefore be complete without some consideration of his 'apocalyptic register' (Gundersen 2001:82) and the implications this has for understanding, not only the underlying presumptions and basic intentions of a major strand of Hauge's prophetic rhetoric, but also the idiosyncratic means by which this strand of speech seeks to persuade the receiver.

2. What is apocalyptic?

'Apocalypticism' and 'apocalyptic' (Grabbe 2003:2) are terms used interchangeably for 'beliefs and types of literature, ancient and modern, which focus either on the fate of the world and its inhabitants or the fate of the individual person' (Aune 2003:53). The most basic means by which apocalyptic is related to prophecy is through their common attribute of claiming divine inspiration for their respective messages; in the case of apocalyptic this is 'the divine revelation of the climatic end of the present world order' (Aune 2003:56).

3. Hauge's apocalyptic in the literature

Even a perfunctory reading of Hauge's early texts indicates that he considered he had received divine revelation, of which some was explicitly apocalyptic in nature, yet there has been no thorough study of Hauge's apocalyptic. Apart from

mentioning Hauge's insistence on quelling speculation about the date of Jesus' return, Bang's only comment on Hauge's apocalyptic was that, although Hauge was '*visst ikke blind for det Profetiske ved denne Bog [Aabenbaringen]*', his explanation of Rev. 12:7-12 in *SB-Lexcién* was far-fetched and at best an allegorisation: i.e. the symbols in Revelation were interpreted '*aandeligt om aandelige Tilstande og Forhold*' (Bang 1910:129-131). Such sidelining of Hauge's apocalyptic by Hauge's first major biographer made a significant contribution to remoulding the radical Hauge into a '*bekjennelsestro kirkelig helteskikkelse*' (Amundsen 2001:28, 34).

Gunnarson's examination of millenarianism in Norwegian Christianity only mentioned Hauge briefly, describing him as '*sindig og nøktern ... i sin holdning til syne- og spådomsvesenet*', and as someone who resisted acting as a '*dommedagsprofet og sektstifter i storstil*'. Yet Gunnarson hinted at Hauge's apocalyptic tendencies by noting that anticipation of the Last Day and the creation of apocalyptic communities do have a tendency to follow in the wake of the kind of religious revival which Hauge initiated (Gunnarson 1928:20).

Aarflot's detailed presentation of Hauge's theology described him as having only '*en beskjednen interesse*' in '*de tilkommende ting*' and his texts as containing only '*et par sammenhenger*' dominated by '*et apokalyptisk-eskatologisk perspektiv*' in which various extracts from Revelation were given '*en sterkt allegorisk tolkning*' (Aarflot 1969:260). Aarflot considered the main focus of Hauge's interpretations of Revelation to be concerned with '*et liv i tro og lydighet på jorden*' (Aarflot 1969:260-261), i.e. edificatory writings with minimal prophetic aspect.

One biographer who has addressed Hauge's apocalyptic was Sverre Norborg. He stated that Hauge perceived that '*en direkte åndsmeddelelse hadde gitt [ham] en profetisk kunnskapsnøkkel til Bibelens siste bok*' (Norborg 1966:75). In contrast to Bang and Aarflot, Norborg viewed Hauge's interpretation of Revelation as a literal depiction of his historical context, i.e. more prophetic than allegorical, but described this as a misinterpretation which resulted in *Guds Viisdom* being '*vansiret av et ubalansert svermeri*' (Norborg 1969:76). Norborg thought that

Hauge's apocalyptic was an expression of his individual frustration at not being able to attain the office of a priest, besides being an expression of the collective anger which resided in the common people as a result of perceived oppression by the Danish autocracy (Norborg 1969:78-79). The latter viewpoint is a reflection of the idea that apocalyptic is an expression of an oppressed minority which can be used to incite rebellion against the perceived oppressor (Cohn 1970, Lanternari 1965).

The most recent literature identifies Hauge's apocalyptic as a reflection of a visionary tradition in Norwegian popular culture whose roots are found in the descriptions of Ragnarok in the *Poetic Edda* and the medieval poem *Draumkvedet* (Amundsen 1999:40-57). Like Norborg, Amundsen considers this tradition to be a coded expression of social and political protest by marginalised social groups (Amundsen 1995:74). Amundsen's views remain the prevailing opinion and were adopted by Gundersen in his analysis of Hauge's rhetoric (Gundersen 2001:81-89).

Amundsen and Gundersen's view need not be considered definitive; apocalyptic writings do not necessarily represent a communal view, but may also be 'the creation of a single individual with a particular perspective' (Grabbe 2003:11). Rather than saying it arose from the popular tradition, it may be more accurate to say that Hauge's idiosyncratic message was received by some in the light of the popular visionary tradition. This kind of reception is demonstrated by the record of individuals who appeared on the fringes of the Haugian movement, wove popular superstition and pagan beliefs into the biblical message, and predicted exact dates for the return of Christ – something which Hauge did not (Amundsen 1999:52, Bache 1828:28, Bang 1910:233, Gunnarson 1928:29, *Skr.* I 169, 8-11).

The dearth of literature on Hauge's apocalyptic appears to be a result of the sidelining of Hauge's apocalyptic by past scholars either by explaining it as an edificational allegorisation of apocalyptic symbolism that befitted the nineteenth-century image of a respectable hero of the Norwegian Church, or as a nonsensical, literal interpretation resulting from an initial rush of enthusiasm which was later regretted and best forgotten. On the other hand, Amundsen and

Gundersen's resurrection of an interest in Hauge's apocalyptic cuts it loose from its biblical roots and explains it as Hauge's pandering to a desire to attain the legitimation and status given to popular visionary prophets.

This chapter seeks to advance the understanding we have of Hauge's apocalyptic thought by a) determining the prevalence of apocalyptic in Hauge's early texts; b) describing Hauge's interpretation of apocalyptic symbolism; c) identifying the particular way in which Hauge's apocalyptic was persuasive and what consequences this might have had on the audience; and d) postulating how the apocalyptic thread in Hauge's message might work in synergy with its prophetic thread.

4. Hauge's apocalyptic

4.1 Hauge's apocalyptic register

Hauge's earlier commentators have tended to limit Hauge's apocalyptic to his interpretation of parts of Revelation in *GV-7: 'Forklaringer over nogle Profesier'*, and his exposition of Rev. 7 in *SB-Lexien* and Rev. 12:7-12 in *EL-Lexien*. More recently Gundersen has also identified these as the main apocalyptic passages, but he adds that '*det eskatologiske registret står ... sentralt i de tidlige Hauge-tekstene*', noting apocalyptic references in *BVD-Fortale* (Gundersen 2001:82). In my observation, *EL-Tillæg* also contains a significant degree of apocalyptic, including at least twelve references to Revelation, a detailed explanation of the symbolism of 'the Woman and the Beast' (Rev.17), and a discussion of the characteristics of the four creatures before the throne of God (Rev. 4:6-7).

As Gundersen hinted, apocalyptic is more than just reference to, or the use / interpretation of the apocalyptic symbolism of Revelation and other apocalyptic passages in the Bible (e.g. Daniel, Matthew 24-25, or 2 Thessalonians 2); it can also form an *underlying register* that permeates a text. The use of biblical apocalyptic texts and their symbolism can be considered as the 'visible' part of the apocalyptic register of a text. Conversely, the apocalyptic register of a text

has a 'hidden' part. This hidden register consists of speech that presupposes an ideology, which, if accepted by the reader, can form the basis of the means by which they construct the 'reality' in which they live, in that it provides a workable theodicy (McGinn 1979:7-10). If the 'hidden' part of Hauge's apocalyptic is brought to the fore, then it is possible to see that Hauge's apocalyptic worldview coloured his writing to a greater extent than has hitherto been recognised or acknowledged.

4.1.1 Identifying Hauge's 'hidden' apocalyptic

The consensus in the literature on apocalyptic rhetoric is that it is based on various central presuppositions (e.g. McGinn 1978:10, Russell 1964:380). These presuppositions form the hidden register in any text which uses apocalyptic rhetoric as a means of persuasion and can be summarised as follows:

- a) The course of history has direction and purpose pre-determined by and ultimately controlled by God.
- b) History is a reflection of a continuous struggle or conflict between good and evil.
- c) The present has reached a crisis point in terms of evil.
- d) The End must be imminent as God surely can not tolerate the situation any longer.
- e) The End will involve the institution of a new order. This 'new order' is usually depicted as transcendental in nature (i.e. not a physical reality), but can include a physical 'millennial age' on earth.
- f) The faithful are promised rewards in the coming new order dependent on obedience in the present life. Obtaining rewards is usually understood as following a 'Last Judgement' in which offenders will be punished.

When apocalyptic rhetoric is viewed as a reflection of these presuppositions it is clear why the pervasiveness of apocalyptic in Hauge's early texts has not been recognised - a primary focus on the interpretation of apocalyptic symbolism would overlook discourse which reflects these basic presuppositions. Examples from Hauge's early texts demonstrating these six presuppositions of an apocalyptic worldview are presented in the following subsections.

4.1.1a A purposeful view of history

A purposeful view of history is so fundamental to Judeo-Christian thought that its presence is often overlooked. This purposeful view of history forms a lucid backdrop to the whole of *Guds Viisdom* and is established in *GV-1* by Hauge's depiction of the act of creation and all that ensues as being purposed by God's will ('Villje' / 'Gierninger'), e.g.

'... alt dette er nu Guds Viisdoms Gierninger, det Gode efter hans behagelige Villie og det Onde efter hans tilladelige Villie ... [første Mose Bog de 3 første Capitler] ... og siden kan en læse hele det gamle Testamente, saa skal en høre meget om Guds Gierninger ... og naar vi enda vil have det klareste, saa kan vi læse det nye Testamente, hvor Guds Villie er aabenbaret af hans egen Søn Jesus Christus ...'

(Skr. I 162, 22 - Skr. I 164, 4)

4.1.1b The struggle between good and evil

The idea of an ongoing struggle between good and evil is a repeated theme in Hauge's early texts. He describes the origin of this battle in *GV-1* (Skr. I 155, 22 – Skr. I 156, 7), and his understanding of its ongoing nature is exemplified in the following extracts from *GV-3* and *BVD-Bidrag*:

'Disse Dievelens Tienere [Pharisærne og Skriftkloge] tabte vel et stort Slag ved Christi og hans sande Efterfølgeres Lærdom, hvilke stridde i en 3 Hundrede Aar, og tilsidst fik de Christne Fred og da kunde dem florere; men saa vant Satan igien med pavelige Vildfarelser, og saa blev Løbet frit paa den brede Vey, og dem som vilde hindre det, lod dem aflive, indtil Luther kom, da tabte dem en herligt Slag'

(Skr. I 183, 21-25)

'Vi, som ikke have meere end Villien, hvilken vi kan opofre til hvilken af Parterne vi vil, Gud eller Dievelen'

(Skr. I 126, 20-22)

The first example depicts church history as a battle between good and evil. The second example reflects this struggle as fought within each individual. By drawing the individual into the overarching purpose of history, Hauge's

apocalyptic gave meaning to the difficulties individuals faced in their daily struggles by locating these in part of a greater, divinely ordained plan.

4.1.1c Pessimism regarding the present

A small sample of Hauge's pessimism regarding his present is shown below:

'Jeg seer vel at Verden er saa ond, hvilket jeg taler meget om'

(Skr. I 77, 18-19)

*'jeg beder enhver at de ikke indbilder eder som de fleste des værre,
at det staaer vel til i Verden'*

(Skr. I 193, 12-14)

The above examples, the first from *BVD-Fortale* and the second from *GV-4*, serve both Hauge's prophetic and apocalyptic speech. What distinguishes the critical aspect of apocalyptic from that of the prophetic is the depiction of the state of the world as beyond redemption so that God has no option but to step in and destroy it. This distinction is made clear in the following example in which the punishments following prophecy and those following apocalyptic are juxtaposed within the same passage from *GV-3*. Those following prophecy are an interim measure, but those following apocalyptic are final:

Prophetic criticism:

'da sagde Herren: min Aand skal ikke trætte med Mennesket evindeligt, eftersom han er Kiød, det er: at Guds Aand revser Mennesket saa længe det er her i Livet, med Sygdom, Ildebrand, Krig, Hunger, Samvittigheds Ængstelse m. m.; ...

Apocalyptic criticism:

... men naar han da er Kiød eller saa ond at han ikke lader sig lede til Omvendelse, saa udsletter han ham tilsidst af Jorden'

(Skr. I 182, 3-9)

4.1.1d The imminence of the End

Not only does apocalyptic depict the world as beyond redemption, but depicts the End as being imminent. Hauge was convinced he lived in the End Times, as he believed that the various signs of the End listed in Matt. 24 were being fulfilled in his time. Apart from identifying the clergy as the false prophets who were prophesied to appear in the End Times (Matt. 24:11 / *Skr.* I 88, 4-5), Hauge witnessed the increase in wickedness in society (Matt. 24:12a / *Skr.* I 85, 25 - *Skr.* I 86, 25), and that the love of many had grown cold - not just for God, but also for their neighbour (Matt. 24:12b / *Skr.* I 90, 7-10). He also believed that he was living in the time when the gospel would be preached in the whole world as 'a testimony to all nations' before the coming of the End (Matt. 24:14 / *Skr.* I 96, 21).

4.1.1e The establishment of a new order

Apocalyptic includes the hope of the final establishment of a new order. Hauge described this as '*den nye Verden med sin Herlighed*' (*Skr.* I 169, 22-23), and his use of Rev. 21 makes it apparent that he regarded this 'new world' to be transcendental rather than physical in nature (*Skr.* I 165, 19-34).

Apocalyptic thought often includes ideas of a millennium. There are various understandings of the 'Last Days', each depicting the millennium differently. This 'reign of a thousand years of the faithful' has been depicted as happening either before Jesus' return (post-millennialism, i.e. Jesus returns *after* the millennium), or after Jesus' return (pre-millennialism i.e. Jesus returns *before* the millennium), and either as a physically reality on earth or as a transcendental reality in 'heaven' (Grudem 1994:1110-1111). Hauge's millennial views are not transparent; but it is possible that he envisaged two separate millennia – one earthly and one heavenly. This idea corresponds with the proposals of the German Pietist theologian Johan Albrecht Bengel (Burk 1837:293ff) with whose work Hauge was allegedly familiar (Bang 1910:131). Bengel (1687-1782) was a well known Lutheran doomsday prophet in Hauge's time (Gunnarson 1928:3). He had predicted by mathematical calculations based on scrutiny of the Bible that Jesus would return in 1836 and inaugurate an earthly millennium (Burk 1837:294, Lindberg 2005:232).

The best clue to Hauge's millennial thought lies in a few lines from *EL-Tillæg*. If read carefully, it is possible to deduce an earthly 'millennium' in which believers '*lide og stride ... her i Verden i tusinde Dage*' followed by a further 'millennium' in which believers '*skal regiere med ham i tusinde Aar*'.

'salig og hellig ere de, som have Deel i den første Opstandelse, over disse har den anden Død eller evige Pine ingen Magt, thi de skal være Guds og Christi Præster, og skal regiere med ham i tusinde Aar, [Aab.] 20 C. 6 v. Hvo som vil have Deel i den første Opstandelse ... han forsager sig selv, tager Christi Kors paa, og følger ham efter, [Matth.] 16 C [24 v.], at stride og lide med ham her i Verden i tusinde Dage, ja meer eller mindre, det er for Herren som Aar, 2 Petr. 3 C. 8 v., og hisset for dem; ja i evig Glæde skal Lammet ledsage dem til de levende Vand-Kilder'

(Skr. II 81, 11-21)

Unlike Bengel, Hauge did not attribute to either 'millennium' a specific length of time, as is seen by his use of *Dage* and *Aar* in the context of his quotation of 2 Pet. 3:8 'With the Lord a day is like a thousand years, and a thousand years are like a day'. Neither did Hauge put a date on 'the Lord's appearing' (Skr. I 148, 3-9), nor specify whether this might be before or after either of the two millennia to which he alludes. In this respect Aarflot is correct in saying that Hauge did not have a '*klart utformet eskatologi*' (Aarflot 1969:260), but as will become clear later in this chapter, Hauge's main focus and interest was not in the order of events surrounding the details of Jesus' return and the end of the world, but in winning as many souls for Christ as possible in the short time remaining. All that was required to achieve his desired intention was a sense of urgency, and his uncertainty as to the specific timing of End Time events acted to amplify this.

4.1.1f Reward and punishment

Apocalyptic rhetoric depicts rewards for the faithful. One example from Hauge's early texts is his use of the wedding metaphor from Rev. 21 to portray rewards for those who have been martyred for their faith – an occurrence Hauge considered would become more frequent during the spreading of the gospel that would precede Jesus' return (Skr. I 106, 2-17). The example below is from GV-2:

‘saaledes blev alle Apostlene, undtagen Johannes Evangelist, pinet til døde, med mange Tusinde andre, især i de Ti store Forfølgelser, og naar dem saaledes blev pinet, da af den Hellig Aands Oplysning om den himmelske Glæde og det faste Haab dertil de ventede, saa var dem i alle disse Lidelser saa glade naar dem gik derhen, at ingen er saa glad naar dem gaaer til Giestebud eller Bryllup i dette Liv som dem gik til sit Bryllup, hvilket ikke er at undre paa, thi et Bryllup her faaer ende paa nogle Dage, men dems Bryllup faar aldrig ende’

(Skr. I 178, 8-17)

Apocalyptic rhetoric also anticipates punishment for the unfaithful. In the following extract from *GV-I* Hauge depicts the fires of hell with graphic detail:

‘Saa er denne Pine [Helvede] afmalet med Ild, der er for vort kiødelige Begreb den største Straf og Pine en kan vederfares i dette Liv, men i Helvedes Pine er aandelig Ild med en særdeles Beredelse af den retfaerdige Gud, som skal pine Siel og Legeme i al Evighed, og om et Menneske bliver brendt til Døden, som er stoer Pine nok, men ikke mere mod Helvedes Pine, end den mindste Gnist der kan falde paa et Lem og svie, som var lidet mod heele Legemet; og da den Helvedes Straf er saa skrækkelig, som Skriften vidner mange Steder’

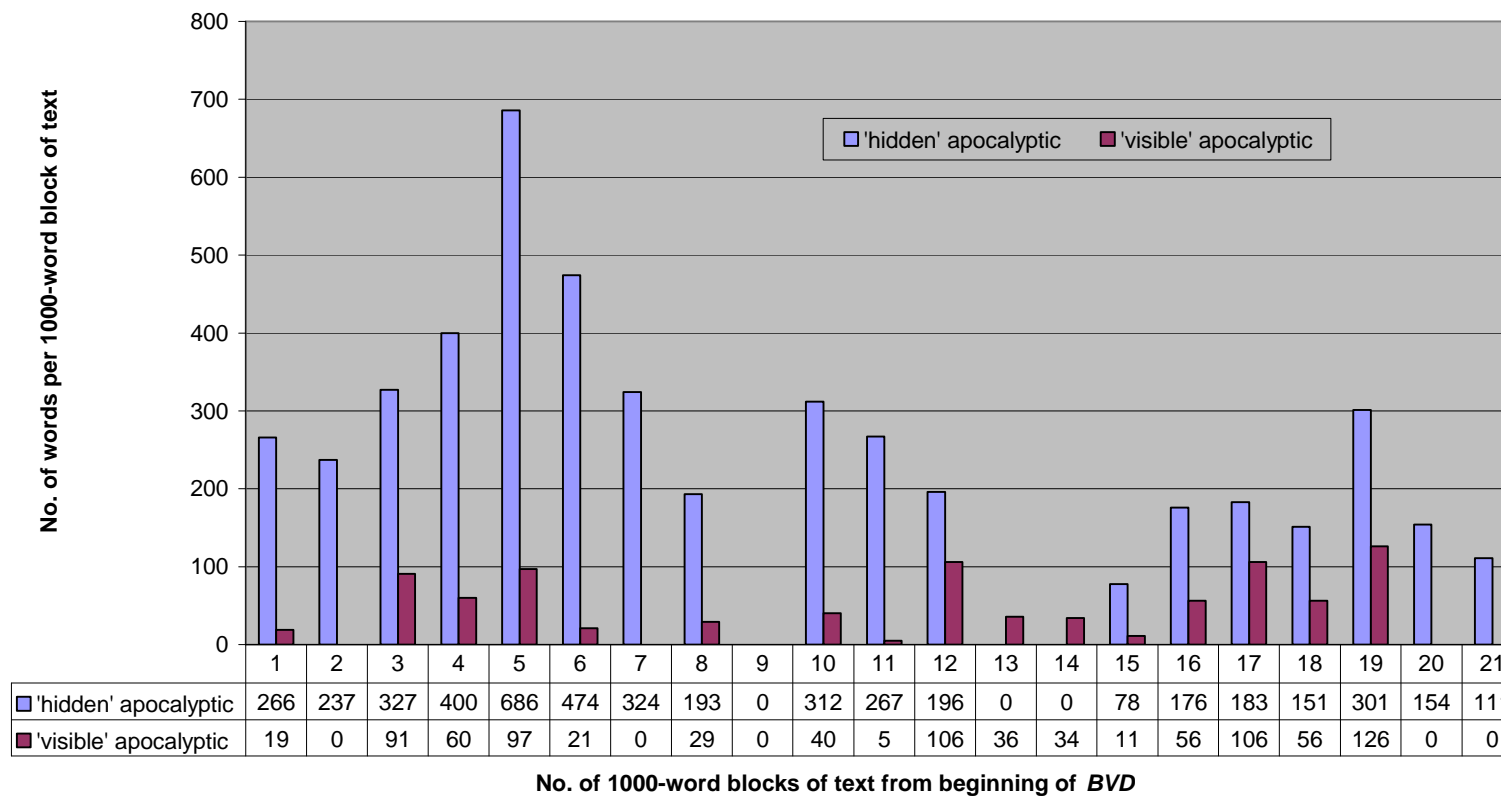
(Skr. I 167, 3-12)

4.1.2 ‘Hidden’ apocalyptic in *BVD*

Providing examples of the presuppositions of apocalyptic rhetoric from various parts of Hauge’s early texts may imply that he worked within a reality constructed on such a system of beliefs, but it does not indicate the prevalence or distribution of apocalyptic in these texts. If speech demonstrating the characteristics of hidden and visible apocalyptic rhetoric is traced in *BVD*, a text not previously considered as having any major apocalyptic emphasis, the prevalence of Hauge’s apocalyptic register begins to emerge.

Figure 5.1 (see page 215) shows a graph of the distribution of hidden and visible apocalyptic in *BVD*. This data was generated by close reading of an electronic copy of *BVD*, and highlighting the sections of the text which demonstrated

Figure 5.1 The distribution of 'hidden' and 'visible' apocalyptic in *Verdens Daarlighed*



hidden or visible apocalyptic. ‘Hidden apocalyptic’ was taken to mean sections of text demonstrating the presuppositions of apocalyptic rhetoric described in Section 4.1.1. ‘Visible apocalyptic’ was taken to mean sections of text in which apocalyptic texts are quoted, referred to, or interpreted by Hauge. The basic unit of meaning was taken at the clausal level rather than at the level of the sentence, because Hauge’s sentences are long and his train of thought can change from clause to clause.

The whole text of *BVD* was then divided into blocks of one thousand words, and the number of words represented by hidden and visible apocalyptic in each block were counted electronically. The data was then plotted on a chart to show the relative distribution of the two types of apocalyptic in subsequent sections of 1000 words of text throughout *BVD*. Despite the obvious limitations inherent in this method of gathering and presenting data, the chart indicates that visible apocalyptic is present in most parts of *BVD* at a low level, whereas hidden apocalyptic is present throughout *BVD* at a substantially higher level. Hidden apocalyptic peaks in *BVD*-3 and *BVD*-4 (word blocks 3-6), which are the chapters that contain most of Hauge’s criticism of his present context.

The distribution and relative quantity of hidden apocalyptic compared to visible apocalyptic in a text not previously considered to demonstrate apocalyptic tendencies supports the claim that apocalyptic thinking pervades Hauge’s early texts and that these texts cannot be properly understood unless read through the lens of his apocalyptic worldview.

4.2 Interpretation of apocalyptic symbolism

If Hauge’s apocalyptic world view was so central to his thinking, then it is essential to understand what that view was. The key is found in his interpretation of apocalyptic symbolism in *GV*-7, which has the title *Forklaring over Nogle Profesier* (*Skr.* I 224 - 233).

4.2.1 Insistence on divine inspiration

Hauge considered that the insight into the symbolism of Revelation which he described in *GV-7* had been granted him by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. This is clear from a statement in *GV-Fortale*:

‘der er mange Prophetier der er lyse og aandelig Aabenbarelsen i, som Naadens Gud har aabenbaret mig ved sin Aand, hvoraf noget skal forklares, som kan tiene til Advarsel og Opmuntring til Troens Befordring for dem som vil afstaae fra det ugudelige Væsen og alle Verdens Fornøjelser, og derimod mig søge sin Lyst i Gud med Bøn om den Hellig[e] Aands Oplysning og en fast Troe paa det samme, som jeg i meget Korthed heri skal forklare hvordan det kan skee’

(*Skr. I* 151, 14-18).

Hauge reiterated the role of divine inspiration in his understanding of apocalyptic prophecy in the elaborate ‘mystery’ type framing device found in the opening paragraph of *GV-7* (*Skr. I* 224, 11 - *Skr. I* 225, 32). Here Hauge stated that some of the things God wanted to disclose to mankind had been hidden in parables or symbols, that only ‘*nogle sande Christne*’ (*Skr. I* 225, 10 / Matt. 13:11-35) would be able to understand these ‘secrets’ (*Skr. I* 224, 21 / Matt. 13:11). He also believed that such people were ‘taught by God’ (Jn. 6:45), i.e. their knowledge was result of divine revelation. Later in this long paragraph Hauge described how God had revealed to him the ‘truth’ regarding the End Times:

‘jeg overveyede det nye Testamente indtil den sidste Bog, og saa betragtet [jeg] at hun havde det Navn: Aabenbaring, med Befaling først og sidst, at en skal læse og bevare Profetiens Ord. Dette gav mig Under, da jeg ikke havde hørt noget om dens Forklaring af nogen Lærer, hvorover jeg bad Gud vilde give mig det tilkiende, og fik det Svar i min Aand af Joh. 8 Cap: dersom du bliver ved mine Ord, da skal du forstaae Sandheden, og Sandheden skal frigiøre dig [Joh. 8C., 31V.], da jeg det loved, saa blev mig klarlig overbeviist, at der var en død dievelsk Troe iblandt de fleste, og nu [er det] paa det yderste, hvorefter der bliver Forandring; dette haver jeg Kundskab [om] af Aabenb. og tillige af Profeterne’

(*Skr. I* 225, 15 - 27)

A comparable framing device to that in GV-7 is found at the beginning of *EL-Tillæg*, another part of Hauge's early texts which contains significant apocalyptic content:

'Da jeg i denne sidst benævnte Bog [SB], som og i de andre, forklarer noget af Johannes Aabenbaring, saa vil de forventede Aander udlægge, at jeg lægger til og fratager denne Propheties Ord, hvorfor Straffen skal lægges paa mig, som hun truer med, Aabenb. 22 C. 18 v. De siger: at hun er mørk, og ikke skal læses eller forklares. Dette er et elendigt Bedragerie af Diævelens forblindede Aander der er formørket i Forstanden; thi denne Bog kaldes Aabenbaring, og [det er] befalet først og sidst at læse og bevare den; men Herren haver sat den i Lignelser, saa de Verdens Viise skal ikke vide Guds Hemmeligheder, Math. 13 C. 11 v., for den Ugudelige skal handle ugudeligen, og ingen af dem skal forstaae det; men den, som underviiser andre, skal forstaae det, Dan. 12 C. 10 v. Til dette er Gud baade mit Vidne, at jeg haver gjort, saaog min Læremester, da jeg, som en ringe Bondesøn, ingen Lærdom meere end Børne-Skolen lidet efter Bogstaven haver haft, uden hans Aand, der haver forklaret Ordet, de Onde til Skræk, og de Gode til Troens Bestyrkelse, og da Guds viise Raad aabenbarer mange hemmelige Ting i sit Ord, som haver været skiult før, og nu føres for Lyset, til Hielp for os i disse farlige Tider, da Forførerne ere mange.'

(Skr. II 75, 27 - Skr. II 76, 12)

In GV-7 Hauge explained to his readers that the revelation of divine secrets regarding the End Times would not be disclosed until those times had begun (Skr. I 224, 21 - Skr. I 225, 2 / Dan.12:4; 12:9-10). He also understood that the End Times would be characterised by an immense increase in the search for knowledge as evidenced in his own time (Skr. I 225, 2-3 / Dan. 12:4). This led Hauge to conclude that God's secrets were now being disclosed to the wise, a group to which he believed he belonged (Skr. I 225, 14-27 / Dan. 12:10, see also Skr. I 125, 9-28).

4.2.2 Hauge's interpretation of Revelation

4.2.2a Dispensationalism

Hauge's perceived divine insight into Revelation led him to understand this apocalyptic text as a depiction of the history of Christianity from the time of John the Apostle until Judgement Day: '*... dens Vidnesbyrd er forhaanden og begyndte fra den Tid den Herre Jesus sendte sin Engel, ... og saa indtil Verdens Ende...*' (Skr. I 225, 35 - Skr. I 226, 3). Thus, in contradiction to the opinion of most of Hauge's commentators, who considered that Hauge's interpretation of Revelation was allegoric (i.e. the biblical text understood as symbolising abstract truths of a spiritual and ahistorical nature), the framework of Hauge's understanding was in fact primarily prophetic, i.e. he believed that its symbolism represented and predicted actual events. Hauge did however interpret some sections of Revelation allegorically in order to add substance to parts of his prophetic interpretation. The key to Hauge's prophetic interpretation of Revelation was his view of the frequency of the use of the number seven:

'de syv Tal er de Lærdomme om Guds Villies Bekiendelse og dets Efterlevelse, som bliver syv Gange forandret; thi her er syv Breve til Lærerne, syv Segl, syv Basuner, syv Tordner og syv Guds Vredes Skaaler; naar de saa overvejer efter hinanden hver Deel, saa svarer de sammen'

(Skr. I 226, 27-32)

Hauge understood Christianity to have seven dispensations between its inception and Judgement Day and that these were variously illustrated by letters to the seven churches (Rev. 2:1-3:22), the opening of the seven seals (Rev. 6:1-8:5), the blowing of the seven trumpets (Rev. 8:6-11:19) and the outpouring of the seven bowls of wrath (Rev. 15:1-16:21). Although Bang comments that some of Hauge's apocalyptic '*minde[r] om Bengel*' (Bang 1910:131), it is worth pointing out that Bengel disparaged all interpretations of Revelation which used this framework and himself believed that the narrative from Rev. 4 onwards represented a series of consecutive events (Bengel 1744:155). Hauge's dispensationalism bears more similarity to that of Joachim Lange, a Pietist

theologian with whom Bengel was in constant dispute (Bengel 1744:47 and 149).

Hauge believed that the Reformation had been the fourth dispensation and was represented by the fourth letter to the church at Thyatira (Rev. 2:18-28):

‘thi den Fierdes var Luther og hans Efterfølgere, som kan sees af det fjerde Brev i det 2 Cap.’

(Skr. I 226, 35)

He criticised Luther and his followers for not completely eradicating ‘false teachers’. He deemed that this failure had resulted in the appearance of ‘the pale horse’ after the breaking of the fourth seal in that the false teachers remaining after the Reformation had brought ‘death and hell’ in their wake (Rev. 6:7-8):

‘... Herren priser hans [Luthers] Troe og Gierninger [i det fjerde Brev], men havde imod ham dette: at den Qvinde Jesabel, som er falske Lærere, og dem forførte Guds Tienere med falske Indbildninger til at leve ugudelig, der kaldes Hørerie og Afguderie, og det fordrog dem, og ikke efter Christi Befaling bekiente (sic) Guds Ord saa lenge Livet varede fra en Stad til en anden, hos Matth. 10 Capitel 23 Vers, og derfor kaldes deres Lærdom ved en bleg Hest i Aabenbaringen 6 Cap og Helvede efterfulgte hannem, som kan vel erfares; thi Satan haver aldrig haft bedre Helvede og større Tienere end den Tid de falske Lærere har regierede nu.’

(Skr. I 227, 1-10)

From the above we can see that Hauge that believed that number and influence of this remnant of false teachers had risen to a peak in his own time (Skr. I 227, 8). He equated them with the grasshoppers which emerged from the abyss after the sounding of the fifth trumpet (Skr. I 227, 30 / Rev. 9:1-12, see also Skr. I 88, 1-8 and Skr. I 188, 3-15), and understood the result of their teaching as described by the emptying of the fifth bowl of wrath (Skr. I 227, 24-28 / Rev. 16:10-11):

‘derfor staar der i det 3 Cap. femte Brev: dem haver det Navn at de lever og dog ere døde; thi dine Gierninger ere ikke fyldte for Gud, og i det 9 Cap 5 Basune: der kom en Røg op af Afgrunden, som

formørkede Solen, eller Guds Ords sande Lys, og da udkom Græshopper, som jeg haver talet om i det fjerde Capitel, hvorledes dem er [dvs Lærerne], og deres Vingers Lyd som Lyd af mange Vogne [Aab. 9 Cap., 9V.], som er deres store Ære og Magt; thi i den Sted at dem, som er Guds Ords Lærere, skulde, efter Christi Befaling, alle holde sig for de ringeste og ville tiene, ligesom Jesus, hos Joh. 13 Cap., [15V.], saa vil de nu have Ære og stor Høragtelse, hvorfor dem har Afgrundens Engel eller Dievelen til Konge, i Aab. 9 Cap. 11 V. og i det 16 Cap. femte, Guds Vredes Skaal: Riget blev formørket og de tygge deres Tunger af Pine, saa de bespotte Gud i Himmelen, men i det 3 Cap. haver dem faae Personer i Sardes [i det femte Brev],¹ som ikke haver besmittet sine Klæder, som er deres aandelige Klæder paa sin Siel; thi Græshopperne eller de falske Lærere skal ikke skade dem der har det Guds Indsegl, i det 4 Cap.,² som er de igienfødde sande Christne, der har den Himmelske Plante og er indpodet i det gode Træ; men de andre, som lader sig fortørre, skal de ikke dræbe, men plage dem fem Maaneder,³ det er: at de ikke skal døe, men de skal leve i den evige Pine, og fem Maaneder er den Tid som det skal vare i, og [ved] det femte Segls Opladelse, 6 Cap: da raabte de Siele der var slagtet for Guds Ords Bekjendelses Skyld at Gud skulde dømme disse Onde og lade Verden forgaae i denne Tid,⁴ og da blev svaret: de skulle hvile sig til deres Medbrødre kommer’

(Skr. I 227, 15 - Skr. I 228, 6)

4.2.2b Change in the air

From the above quotation we can see that Hauge believed that his own time equated to the end of the fifth dispensation (Skr. I 226, 32-34). Despite his negative opinion of ‘*Kristendommens Tilstand*’ he emphasised that there were ‘[noen] Personer i Sardes [i det femte Brev], som ikke haver besmittet sine Klæder’ and that the ‘grasshoppers’ or false teachers could not harm these ‘igienfødde sande Christne’ because they had ‘*det Guds Indsegl*’ (Rev 9:4 / Skr. I 227, 29-33). It was Hauge’s belief that these people would play a key role in the sixth dispensation which was about to begin. This is the ‘*Forandring*’ (change) which Hauge had hinted at earlier in *BVD* and in *GV* (Skr. I 106, 4-9 and Skr. I 148, 3-9). The example below is from *BVD-Fortale*:

¹ Hauge’s time

² Actually Rev. 9:4

³ Rev. 9:5

⁴ Rev. 6:9-10

‘den sidste Bog i Aabenbaringen er reent skiult for de selvgode Mennesker; jeg har aldrig læst i den og forstaaet det før nu, da jeg forstaaer noget i den, thi seer jeg nok at her vil blive en Forandring’

(Skr. I 79, 23-26)

In GV-7 this ‘Forandring’ is explained more fully in terms of the opening of the sixth seal (Rev. 6:12-14; 7:1-17) and the sixth letter to the seven churches (Rev. 3:7-13):

*‘dernæst bliver det siette Segl opladen [Aab 6C., 12-14V.] og **det vidner om Forandring til Straffen paa de Onde**, som der staar i det 7 Cap: de fire Engle var givet at skade Jorden [Aab. 7C., 1V.], og der kom en anden som havde det levende Guds Indsegl, som raabte, at de ikke skulde skade indtil vi faae beseglet vore Guds Tienere i vore Pander [Aab. 7C., 2V.] det er: at der opkommer Guds Ords sande Tienere, som har den rette levende Troe, som der staar i det 3 Cap 6te Brev: dem har Davids Nøgel [Aab. 3C., 7V.], det er: et angerfuldt Hierte over sine Synder og henflye til Christus der er Nøglen til Livet’*

(Skr. I 228, 6-14)

The ‘Forandring’ Hauge envisaged as being represented in the sixth letter (Rev. 3:7-13 / Skr. I 228, 11-14), the sixth seal (Rev 7:1 / Skr. I 228, 23-28), the sixth trumpet (Rev. 9:13-14 / Skr. I 228, 29-31) and the sixth bowl of wrath was essentially ‘den sidste Udbredelse’ (Skr. I 96, 20) of the gospel before Jesus’ return, prophesied by Jesus in Matt. 24:14.

‘der opkommer Guds Ords sande Tienere, som har den rette levende Troe, som der staar i det 3 Cap 6te Brev’

(Skr. I 228, 11-13)

*‘der skal komme først et Affald, at det Syndens Menneske bliver aabenbaret, og det er **det samme som det 7de Capitels siette Segl giver tilkiende,**⁵ og de fire Engle skal skade jorden; og [at] dem holdte de fire jordens Væjr; det er: disse onde store Verdens Lærere*

⁵ Rev. 6:12-17 (not Rev. 7)

har holdt det sande Evangelium med sin falske Lærdom,⁶ og derfor befales i det 9 Cap., der den siette Engel havde basunet: løs op de fire Engle,⁷ som er: at en skal bekiende den sande Guds Villie og dermed løse deres falske Indbildning, siden skal den tredie Deel ihielslaaes etc. og med Evangeli Bekiendelse kan vi læse videre hvorledes det vil gaae i efterfølgende tre Capitler.'

(Skr. I 228, 23 -34)

Hauge believed that this last dissemination of the gospel would be 'til Straffen paa de Onde' because 'de fire Engle [som] skal skade jorden' (c.f. Rev. 7:1) and prevent God drawing people to himself (i.e. the four types of clergy Hauge saw evidenced in society), would be hindered in their activity by the release of 'de fire Engle' (Skr. I 228, 30) or 'Guds Ords sande Tienere' (Skr. I 228, 11) who would preach the gospel to the ends of the earth.

Hauge was convinced that this period of expansion would bring persecution for believers, and he interpreted the 'Fristelsens Stund' described in the sixth of the letters to the seven churches as 'the great tribulation' found in the narration of the sixth seal (Rev.7:14 / Skr. I 228, 20).

*'der opkommer Guds Ords sande Tienere, som har den rette levende Troe, som der staar i det 3 Cap 6te Brev ... Saadan Meenighed priser Herren meget og siger: ... de skulde kiende at jeg haver elsket dig, efterdi du haver bevaret mine Taalmodigheds Ord, eller lidt Bespottelse og Forfølgelse, da skal jeg og bevare dig fra Fristelsens Stund, som skal komme over det ganske Jorderige'*⁸

(Skr. I 228, 11- 21).

4.2.2c The Angel and the Little Scroll

Hauge believed that the vision of 'the Angel and the Little Scroll' (Rev. 10:1-11) represented a detailed insight into the way the final dissemination of the gospel would progress during the sixth dispensation. His interpretation of this vision is

⁶ *De har med sin falsk lære holdt den sanne Evangelium nede'* (Ording 1947:279)

⁷ Rev. 9:13-14

⁸ Rev. 3:9-10

allegorical within an otherwise prophetic framework and describes the nature and task of the true Christians who would preach the gospel:

*‘og med Evangeli Bekiendelse kan vi læse videre hvorledes det vil gaae i efterfølgende tre Capitler [Aab. 10-12C.]. I det 10 Capitel staar: der var en sterk Engel som var beklæd med en Skye [Aab. 10C., 1V.], det er: Styrken er den Aands Kraft som Gud giver sine Tienere, og Skyen er den udvortes Anseelse, der er mørk, og en Regnbue var paa hans Hoved [1V.], er: at de forelegger Guds Straf, som haver skeed over de Ugudelige, og saa skal skee herefter, hvilket Buen viser, og hans Ansigt var som Solen [1V.] er: at de har Guds Herligheds Soel, som lyser i deres Siel og udgaar fra deres Mund med Naade-Løfter om den himmelske Herlighed, og Guds Beskiermelse til de Igienfødde, og hans Fødder som Ilds Pillere [1V.], det er som Paulus siger til de Romere 9 Capitel: hvor deilig er deres Fødder som førkynde Fredens Evangelio, og Engelen havde i sin Haand en liden opladen Bog [2V.], det er: at dem haver sin Mund opladen eller færdig til at undervise andre; **at den er liden [2V.], er: at der ikke behøves saa mange Ord for Kundskaben,** efterdi Bogstaven er stor nok før; ... men [da] de sande Lærere befaler at en skal æde det op som dem læser, efter Engelens Befaling [9V.], og da vrier den i din Bug, men er sød for din Mund [10V.]; det er: at de befaler at forsage det ugudelige Væsen og korsfæste Kiødet med alle dets Lyster, og da vrier det for dem som med Sorg vil giøre Poenitentse, men for Aanden er den sød til et igienfødt Menneske; og han satte sin eene Fod paa Havet og den anden paa Jorden [2V.], det er: at de udfører denne Lærdom over Øerne, Land og Vand, som der staar: han raabte med stor Røst, som en Løve brøler [3V.]; saaledes bliver det sande Guds Ord ved hans Tienere udraabt og bekiendt’*

(Skr. I 228, 32 - Skr. I 229, 24)

Hauge’s interpretation of the vision of the angel and the scroll in GV-7 also explains his comments in BVD-5: ‘Jeg læser da en Stæd i den hellige Skrift [dvs Aab. 10C., V.2], **at der behøves faae Ord i Evangelii sidste Tiid;** og da jeg nu veed at den sidste Udbredelse skeer...’ (Skr. I 96, 19-21). Not only do Hauge’s phrases ‘faae Ord’ from BVD-5 (Skr. I 96, 19) and ‘ikke saa mange Ord’ from the passage shown above (Skr. I 229) represent the preaching of the gospel that he believed would occur during ‘den siste Udbredelse’, but they also indicate the nature of that message. According to Hauge’s understanding of the vision, the message of that preaching would be ‘liden’ in accordance with the littleness of the scroll held by the angel, i.e. simple (eenfoldig) and spiritual (aandelig)

compared to the complicated nature of the 'Bogstaven' or 'verdslige Kundskap' offered by the 'falske lærere' (See 2 Cor. 2:6 / Skr. I 91, 25 and Skr. I 150, 8-14).

4.2.2d The Woman, the Dragon and Michael

Hauge found further meaning concerning the sixth dispensation in the vision of the Woman and the Dragon (Rev. 12:1-6) and the vision of the battle between Michael and the Dragon (Rev. 12:7-12):

*'... derefter taledede de syv Tordener, som var **hvorledes denne store Forandring skulle skee**, hvilket han [Johannes] ikke fik Lov at skrive;⁹ thi det indsaae den almægtige Gud ikke var godt, da de Gode kan ikke taale at vide hvad der skal vederfares dem; **dog haver han viist noget i det 12 Cap ved en Lignelse om en frugtsommelig Qvinde, som var beklæd med Solen;**¹⁰ det er som der staar hos Malachias 4 Capitel: **der skal opgaa Retfærdigheds-Soel over dem som frygter mit Navn,**¹¹ og Maanen under deres Fodder; det er: det udvortes hellige Levnet; og tolv Stierne i sin Krone, er de tolv Apostles Lærdom, som de haver i Hovedet efter Bogstaven; og at Qvinden var frugtsommelig,¹² er den aandelige Kierlighed som de haver til Gud og sin Næste, og **Smerte for at føde, er at de haver Sorg for at faae bekiendt den sande Guds Villie til hans Ære og Næstens Salighed;** men [da] den røde Drage,¹³ som er Dievelen, vil opsluge Qvindens Foster, hvilket dog ikke skede, thi Gud bevarede det, endskiønt han [Dragen] drog den tredie Part af Stierne paa Jorden,¹⁴ som er de der lader sig forføre af Satan eller de onde Mennesker, endskiønt dem har en Gnist af Troen, som en Stjerne; og [der] Drengbarnet var fød, der skulde regiere Hedningene med et Jernriis,¹⁵ hvilket er skarpe Ord og Gierninger over dem, som vil gjøre det Skade, som der staar i det 11 Cap: at de to Vidner skal propheterere i 200 og 60 Dage, iførte i Sæk og Aske, og om nogen vil skade dem, skal der Ild udgaae af deres Mund,¹⁶ det er: at dem skal førkynde Guds Villie og derved propheterere eller formere de sande Christne i en bestemt Tid, hvilket er sat i Lignelse efter Dage, som og er den samme Tid Qvinden skal henflye til Ørken og føde, hvilken Henflyelse man vist i Tiden faaer at see; og Slangen skiød en Strøm*

⁹ Rev. 10:3b-4

¹⁰ Rev. 12:1

¹¹ Mal. 4:2:

¹² Rev. 12:2

¹³ Rev. 12:3

¹⁴ Rev. 12:4: 'Og dens [Dragens] Stiert drog den tredie Part af Himmelens Stierne og kastede dem paa Jorden' (Chr VII)

¹⁵ Rev. 12:5. Chr VII has 'jern-spiir'

¹⁶ Rev. 11:3

efter Qvinden, at hun skulde drevet bort,¹⁷ men Jorden kom Qvinden til Hielp og opslugede den [Strømmen],¹⁸ det er: Satans Redskaber (sic) vil forderve Guds Bekiendere; men saa kommer de jordiske naturlige Mennesker til Hielp, thi de seer at dem er uskyldig; og Tiden er udseet af Gud, som bliver lange Dage for Menneskene. Og Sæk og Aske¹⁹ er Sorg og Møye, som skal møde de sande Guds Bekiendere, og en Strid imellem Michael og Dragen, med deres Engle;²⁰ om Michael staaer der hos Daniel 12 Capitel: at han skal staae for Folket paa den Dag som Herren vil straffe de Ugudelige, og hans Engle er dem som har sit Sind og Aand henvendt til Gud og efterfølger hans Befalinger, dem strider imod Dragen og hans Engle, det er Dievelen eg de onde Mennesker der staar imod Guds Befaling, og dem blev nedkast og ey fandt Sted i Himmelen.'

(Skr. I 229, 28 - Skr. I 230, 15)

Hauge understood the woman to be '*dem som frygter mit [Jesu] Navn*' and her pregnant state as their '*Sorg for at faae bekiendt den sande Guds Villie*'. Predictably he cast the dragon as '*Dievelen*', yet he did not equate the woman's child with Jesus, but with the proclaiming of the gospel and the words of 'the Two Witnesses' (Skr. I 230, 8-15 / Rev. 11:1-14). Hauge made no attempt to identify the two witnesses as particular individuals or to define the meaning of the 1260 days they would preach, but it is clear that he interpreted this period of time as a representation of the sixth dispensation in which the gospel would be spread: '*dem [de to Vidner] skal førkynde Guds Villie og derved prophetere eller formere de sande Christne i en bestemt Tid*' (Skr. I 230, 13 -15).

Hauge believed that the sixth dispensation (see Section 4.2.2b) would be characterised by '*en Strid imellem Michael og Dragen, med deres Engle*' (Skr. I 230, 24-35) and he related this to Daniel 12:1 which describes Michael, 'the great prince who protects God's people' arising during 'a time of distress'. This battle formed a key part of Hauge's understanding of the coming '*Forandring*' and the resulting backlash which he believed would come from the '*Dievelens Redskaber*' (see also Skr. I 106, 4-9; Skr. I 152, 22-29), especially from the

¹⁷ Rev. 12:15

¹⁸ Rev. 12:16

¹⁹ Rev. 11:3

²⁰ Rev. 12:7-9

angels who would fight on the side of the Dragon, i.e. the clergy (see also *Skr. I* 188, 15-17 and *Skr. I* 194, 21-27).

4.2.2e Satan's imprisonment and release

The battle between Michael and the Dragon in Revelation ends with Satan being thrown down to the earth. Hauge equated this event in Rev. 12:9 with that in Rev. 20:1-3 where Satan is thrown down into 'the abyss' and bound for 'a thousand years' – an arbitrary length of time that Hauge believed represented the time required to bring the gospel to the heathen: *'han ikke skal forføre Hedningene mere, indtil tusinde Aar bliver fuldkomne'* (*Skr. I* 231, 4). We know Hauge considered this to be representative of the sixth dispensation, or *'den sidste Udbredelse'*, because he mentions in the same context that the pouring of the sixth bowl of wrath permits *'Guds Aands oplyste Mænd'* to come from *'Solens Opgang'* to *'faae bekiendt den sande Guds Villie til hans Ære og Næstens Salighed'* (*Skr. I* 229, 31). Hauge also equates this time with the 1260 days in which the Two Witnesses preach and prophesy: *'af samme Meening er i det 11 Cap: (at) naar de to Sandheds-Vidner haver endet deres Vidnesbyrd [til Hedningerne] ...'* (*Skr. I* 231, 13-17):

'... at Dievelen ikke formaaede noget, er: at han [Englen] binder ham, som der staar i det 20 Cap. med en stor Lænke og kaster ham i Afgrunden, at han ikke skal forføre Hedningene mere, indtil tusinde Aar bliver fuldkomne, og efter dem bør hannem at blive løs en liden Tid,²¹ hvilket er det samme som der staar i det 16 Cap: at den siette Engel udøste sin Skaal paa den store Flod Euphrates, og Vandet deraf borttørres; at Veyen bliver bered for de Konger som kommer af Solens Opgang, det er Guds Aands oplyste Mænd,²² men saa udkom af Dragens, Dyrets og den falske Prophetes Mund tre urene Aander,²³ der er Dievelens Aander, som gjøre Tegn og gaar ud til Jordens Konger at samle dem til Guds store Dags Strid, dette er og den Gog og Magog²⁴ i det 20 Capitel;²⁵ af samme

²¹ Rev. 20:1-3

²² for *'det er Guds Aands Oplyste Mænd'*, 3rd edition reads, *'det er: den Herre Zebaoth's Engel og Præst der bevarer Kundskap og Guds Lov, Mal. 2C.7 v. Med brændende Kierlighed der udøses paa Havet eller de mange ugudlige Mennesker, saa det onde borttørres, at de Hærer i Himmelen paa hvide Heste, Aab. 19 C. 14 v. eller hellige Mennesker som ere toet hvide af Synden, og [havet] tvunget sit Legeme under Aanden, de har sin Straale fra Jesus denne Verdens Soel eller Lys, Joh. 8 Cap 12 v.'* (Ording 1947: 229).

²³ Rev. 16:13-14

²⁴ See Ez. 38 and 39

²⁵ Rev. 20:7-8

Meening er i det 11 Cap: at naar de to Sandheds-Vidner haver endet deres Vidnesbyrd, da skal det Dyr som opstiger af Afgrunden holde Strid imod dem og ihjelslaae dem,²⁶ thi de to Vidner plagede de jordiske Hyklere eller falske Lærere. Og i det 13 Capitel staar der: det dødelige Saar paa Dyret blev lægt,²⁷ det er: at den falske Lærdom blev forvendt, at være god, og dem blev givet at føre Strid imod de Hellige og overvinde dem,²⁸ og hos Matth. 24 Cap. siger Christus: de skal antvorde eder i Trængsel og slaae eder ihjel, og I skulle hades af alle Folk for mit Navns Skyld'

(Skr. I 231, 1 – 22)

Finally, we see from the above that Hauge believed that the sixth dispensation would end with Satan's release (Rev. 20:7 / Skr. I 231, 6-9). He believed this would be a time of intense suffering for 'Guds oplyste Mænd' - a backlash resulting from the fact that this army of preachers had ensured that 'den falske Lærdom blev forvendt, at være god' (Skr. I 231, 18).

Hauge summed up the sixth dispensation succinctly as shown in the quote below, emphasising the fact that 'hvo som bliver varagtig indtil Enden, han skal blive salig [Matth. 24C., 13 V.]' (Skr. I 231, 33):

'Meeningen paa alle disse Stykker er: først at det sande Evangelium efter Guds Villie skal faae stor Fremgang, og Satan, som regierer de onde Mennesker, skal forhindres af Guds Almagt, saa dem ikke skal formaae sig imod de Gode; men Gud skal give dem Viisdoms Aand, som alle deres Fiender ikke kan imodstaae, hos Luc. 21 Cap. [15V.], og naar da deres Evangelium har udbredet sig til de Troende, saa skal Satan blive løs eller de onde Redskaber, og saa forfølge de hellige Troende og ihjelslaae dem, ja den Tid skal komme, at de Onde skal mene at dem gjør Gud en Dyrkelse dermed [Joh. 6C. 12V.], og da skal mange forarges, men hvo som bliver varagtig indtil Enden, han skal blive salig [Matth. 24C., 13V.]'

(Skr. I 231, 23- 32)

²⁶ Rev. 11:7

²⁷ Rev. 13:3

²⁸ Instead of 'at den falske Lærdom blev forvendt osv, 3rd edition reads 'disse Vidner opskiærer Dyret eller overbeviser og straffer deres Synder, som de faaer Dødens Dom for, Rom. 6 C. 23 v. Dette læger Satans Redskaber, med Plaster eller falsk Trøst, der er Siele-Forgift, og saa fylder deres Syndelast og jordiske Sind, under Skin at Gud skulde have forladt dem Synden og giver dem Tilladelse, ja Tilskyndelse at føre Strid mod de Hellige og overvinde dem' (Ording 1947:300).

4.2.2f The seventh and last dispensation

Hauge presented the seventh dispensation as God's final, cataclysmic and supernatural intervention in the affairs of mankind in which a permanent new order would be established. He saw its inception depicted in the blowing of the seventh trumpet (Rev.10:7), the pouring out of the seventh bowl of wrath (Rev.16:17-21):

*'... og for de Udvalgte Skyld skal de Dage førkortes, siger Christus,²⁹ thi Troen skal neppe findes paa Jorden, hos Luc. 18 Cap.,³⁰ og det bliver i den syvende Basune og den syvende Guds Vredes Skaal, hvor der ikke skal blive Tid mere, i Aab. 10 Cap.,³¹ men den Guds Hemmelighed skal blive fuldkommen, som er sagt ved hans Tienere, og da skal den store Stad Babylon falde;³² i det 18 Cap., som er al Verdens Onde, og Guds Folk skal gaae ud fra den, saa de ikke skal faa af dems Plager; thi deres Synder naaer op til Himmelen ...'*³³

(Skr. I 231, 34 – Skr. I 232, 7)

Hauge depicted this stage of history as including the destruction of the ungodly, who, along with the clergy, he described as '*den store Stad Babylon ... beklæd med kostelige Liinklæder, Purpur, Skarlagen og forgylt med Guld og dyrebare Steene*' but whom '*skal opbrændes med Ild*':

'... da skal den store Stad Babylon falde;³⁴ i det 18 Cap., som er al Verdens Onde, og Guds Folk skal gaae ud fra den, saa de ikke skal faa af dems Plager; thi deres Synder naaer op til Himmelen;³⁵ saa meget som de haver drevet Vellyst med den, saa meget giver den Pine og Sorrig, og den var beklæd med kostelige Liinklæder, Purpur, Skarlagen og forgylt med Guld og dyrebare Steene og den skal opbrændes med Ild;³⁶ thi stærk er den Herre Gud som dømmer dem.'

(Skr. I 232, 4 -11)

²⁹ Matt.24:22

³⁰ Lk. 18:8b 'When the Son of Man comes, will he find faith on the earth?'

³¹ Rev. 10:6b -7

³² Rev. 18:2

³³ Rev. 18:4-5

³⁴ Rev. 18:2

³⁵ Rev. 18:4-5

³⁶ Summary and paraphrase of Rev. 18:9-20

Hauge ended his interpretation of Revelation with a final framing device which exhorts the reader to test whether the message is from God and reminds them that his lack of learning can be taken as a sign that God himself has revealed these deep secrets beyond natural understanding. In this section we also find the criticising ('*Shræk*' and '*Advarsel*') and energising aspects ('*Opmuntring*') of prophecy mentioned:

*'Saaledes har jeg da givet eder liden Forklaring over noget af Prophesiens Ord, som kan tiene de Gode til Opmuntring og de Onde til Skræk; det er meget kort, da de kan bedre overveje det selv: dog formaner jeg eder, at de ikke med verdslig Viisdom og egen Studering vil forklare den, thi den som skrev, studerede ikke, men kiendte sig selv hvad han var og hvad Læremester han havde, saa gjør og de; hvortil jeg opmuntrer eder med disse Ord i det 21 Cap: jeg vil give de Tørstige af Livsens Vand uforskyldt; den som vinder skal arve alle Ting, og jeg skal være ham en Gud og han skal være mig en Søn;³⁷ og til Advarsel de Ord i det 22 Capitel: Hvo som gjør Uret, han gjøre Uret mere, saa skal Straffen komme over ham; men hvo som gjør Retfærdighed, retfærdiggøres mere, og den Hellige bliver helligere mere; og see, jeg kommer snart og min Løn er med mig, at give hver, som hans Gierning skal være.'*³⁸

(Skr. I 232, 11-26)

4.2.2g Summary

To summarise the message of GV-7, Hauge believed his present temporal context to be situated at the turn of the fifth of seven dispensations of unspecified duration which he believed constituted the history of Christianity. He saw the characteristics of the church in his age described in the fifth letter to the church at Sardis – 'having a name for being alive, but actually being dead' (Rev. 3:1 / Skr. I 227, 15) and it is this dispensation at which the criticism of Hauge's apocalyptic rhetoric is directed.

The end of the fifth dispensation and the beginning of the sixth was the '*Forandring*' that Hauge believed was impending, if not already underway. This

³⁷ Rev. 21:6b-7

³⁸ Rev. 22:11-12

event would be marked by the overthrow of the 'false teachers' and their adherents, and an unprecedented spreading of the gospel in which true believers would '*lide og stride*' for Christ, but in which the gospel would prevail. The end of this earthly 'millennium' of unspecified duration would be marked by intense persecution of believers and would culminate in a 'final battle' after which history would end. The seventh dispensation would be instigated by Judgement Day. As far as can be determined from *GV-7*, Hauge seemed to envisage Jesus' return as occurring at the end of the sixth dispensation and the beginning of the seventh.

Hauge's interpretation of apocalyptic symbolism looks back in time only in that it briefly considers the Reformation, and forward in time only in that it anticipates Judgement Day and a New Heaven and Earth - the main focus of his apocalyptic is his present, i.e. the fifth / sixth dispensation, viewed from the perspective of the End. When seen this way it is clear that Hauge's message was not primarily intended to call non-believers to repentance by threatening them with imminent hell and damnation as is characteristic of much popular visionary apocalyptic (e.g. *Draumkvedet*) - it was rather a wake-up call intended to shake believers into realising that in God's overall scheme of things an unprecedented opportunity for spreading the gospel was about to begin. This opportunity was the prophesied 'last dissemination of the gospel' ('*den sidste Udbredelse*') - the last chance to save as many souls as possible before Judgement Day - and ought not to be wasted. Thus the hellfire aspects of Hauge's apocalyptic can be considered to be intended to encourage believers into sharing the gospel in addition to precipitating the conversion of the unbelieving reader.

Hauge's apocalyptic also contained the warning that sharing the gospel would not be without cost; it would begin and end with intense times of trial, the last greater than the first, in addition to suffering in between. The times of trial would require perseverance and patience, but would be rewarded in heaven. In the logic of apocalyptic, the implication of this is that 'the worse things get, the better it is', as the dire nature of the situation proves in the mind of the believer that the End is drawing increasingly nearer.

4.3 Persuasion and action

As maybe seen from the last section, the message of Hauge's apocalyptic can be considered not primarily as a call to repentance, but as a call to preach the gospel while a perceived God-given time of opportunity lasted. Due to its generic nature, Hauge's apocalyptic contains various means of persuading the reader of the imperative nature of that task (Brummet 1984, O'Leary 1984). At the most basic level, this persuades the reader by arguing both *for* (positive apocalyptic) and *against* (negative apocalyptic) something by using devices based on the underlying presuppositions of apocalyptic ideology to intensify those arguments (McGinn 1979, Reid 1983).

4.3.1 Negative apocalyptic

Revelation is an example of negative apocalyptic rhetoric in that it is directed against the established order (McGinn 1979:32) and identifies 'a clearly defined enemy' (Reid 1983:239). In interpreting Revelation, Hauge's apocalyptic was bound to take on some of that negative character, and Hauge's 'clearly defined enemy' is easily identified as the clergy whom he criticised so openly.

Hauge's criticism of the clergy has more often than not been understood by his commentators as constituting an attack on the ruling authorities of the Dano-Norwegian State, since to criticise its agents can be understood as a criticism of the State itself (Furre 1999, Mannsåker 1961). Although Hauge only intended to criticise the clergy, not the State, he did report that his rhetoric had caused some to anticipate that it would provoke open revolt. Hauge stated in his defence that the intentions of the movement had been misunderstood. He made it clear that, in contrast to open revolt, he espoused the passive endurance of suffering and called people to pray for their persecutors (*Skr.* II 66, 16-19) – a motif more common to negative apocalyptic than the advocating of outright revolution (McGinn 1979:32). This idea can be seen in the following quote from *EL-Tillæg*:

'Nogle frygter for, at det skal gaae her, som i Frankerige, dersom vi faae Fremgang; men de seer ikke ret ind i Sagen; thi Oprør, Krig, Pest og dyr Tid kommer ikke, for vi elsker Gud, og udbreder hans Ære, til vor Næstes Vel, om han vil annamme det ... Guds Godhed mod os og fleere Land med sin Langmodigheds Rigdom lokker os til

Omvendelse; de, som da foragter det, samler sig selv Guds Vrede paa Aabenbarelsens Dag ... Og som de Krigerske ey allene slaaer igien, naar de bliver slagne, men og overfalder sine Foresatte, hvilket vi, der ere sande Christne, tvertimod beder godt for dem, som forfølger os'

(Skr. II 71, 25 - Skr. II 72, 6)

These reassurances from Hauge were obviously not enough to convince the authorities; his criticisms against the clergy in the 1804 edition of *EL*, and the '*mistillid mod statens indretninger i almindelighed og den geistelige stand i særdeleshed*' that his writings might cause, were cited at the beginning of the Royal Commission of 16 November 1804 as reasons for his final arrest (Bang 1910:390).

If Hauge's intention was not to incite open revolution, his attack on the clergy must have entailed another persuasive strategy. In relation to his perception that the last dissemination of the gospel was underway, his criticism of the clergy served two purposes. Firstly, since one of the signs of the End Times was considered to be the proliferation of false teachers (Matt. 24:11), Hauge's criticism of the clergy for their 'false teaching' acted as a proof that the End Times had begun. Secondly, these criticisms, especially the criticism that the clergy did not preach '*i Tide og Utide*' (2 Tim. 4:2 / Skr. II 72, 10-16), acted as a means of persuading ordinary people that if the clergy were not preaching the gospel in such a critical period of history, then it was the duty of 'true believers' to shoulder the task themselves (Aarflot 1969:381). There is an indication of this task in the quote from *EL-Tillæg* above: '*vi elsker Gud, og udbreder hans Ære, til vor Næstes Vel, om han vil annamme det*' (Skr. II 71, 27-29). This sentiment is also reflected in Hauge's impassioned sigh '*jeg ønsker med Mose, at alle Herrens Folk vare Propheter, 4 Mose B. 11 C. 29 v.*' (Skr. II 74, 11-13) because he believed that '*at hielpe og staae vor Næste bie i al Livs Fare, maa især sigte til hans udødelige Siel, hvilket jeg i min tredie Bøg ... driver paa, at vi skal bekiende Jesum, endog for den hoeragtige og syndige Slægt, Marc. 8 C.*' (Skr. II 74, 7-11).

Although a call to ‘true believers’ to preach the gospel might be considered by some to be a positive response from negative apocalyptic, in the eyes of the State such action was considered to be negative, as rhetoric of this kind encouraged people to breach the Conventicle Act (1741) which forbade lay people to ‘*trengse seg inn i en gjerning som den offentlige pretestand hadde ansvaret for*’ (Aarflot 1967:157-160). Thus, although Hauge advocated a passive attitude towards persecution by the authorities, he did not advocate a passive attitude to change, i.e. he did not accept the growth of Enlightenment philosophy in the Christian religion in the sense that he encouraged lay men and women to actively preach a Pietist flavoured gospel as a response to the lack of such action from the clergy. In this way, contrary to type, Hauge’s negative apocalyptic can better be described as actively reformist than passive in that it did try to ‘ameliorate the structures of the old order’ and ‘advance concrete plans’ (McGinn 1979:33).

4.3.2 Positive apocalyptic

Positive apocalyptic argues *for* something and can be used to support political and social order. This form of apocalypticism is usually used by the established order to maintain that order, and the attacking of an individual or group by casting them in the role of one of the figures symbolic of evil in the canonical apocalyptic texts is intended to denounce that particular individual or group rather than the established order itself (McGinn 1979:35). Although Hauge did not belong to the established order in the sense that he was not a member of the *embetsstand*, he did belong to a long established line of Pietist believers who had found royal support in the form of King Christian VI (1730-1746) (Aarflot 1969:122). For Hauge, Pietism was the established order from which the present situation had deviated. This type of nostalgia is characteristic of apocalyptic, adding to its power to criticise and bemoan the present (Borchardt 1990). Such nostalgia can be seen in Hauge’s eulogy in praise of Christian VI (*Skr.* I 83-84) when in fact the ruling monarch of his time was Christian VII (1766-1808). Seen in this light, Hauge’s criticism of the clergy could be read not as an attack on the State, but rather as a desire to see the re-establishment of clergy who lived and worked according to Pietist values. This can be seen in the sense of relief with which Hauge later described the newly opened University of Oslo as being the means by which a new generation of clergy who had ‘*Religionens hellige Ilde*

... *i deres Hjerter*’ would ‘*virke til sand Guds frygt i vort Fødeland*’ (*Udtog af Kirke-Historien* (1822), *Skr.* VIII 224, 6-17).

Unfortunately for Hauge, the subtleties of positive apocalyptic were beyond the grasp of a ruling class who viewed the turmoil in Europe as having the potential to spread to Norway and who had already seen the beginnings of unrest in the Stril War in Bergen (1765) and the Lofthus Revolt in Sørlandet (1787) (Derry 1979:192-193).

4.3.3 Intensifying the argument

Arguing against the present condition of the clergy, for a return to Pietist values, and for the active preaching of the gospel by lay people, can be done without resorting to apocalyptic rhetoric, but it is precisely Hauge’s apocalyptic which gave power to this part of his message by ‘locating present events within a schema of universal meaning’ (McGinn 1979:32-33).

Christian apocalyptic presupposes that history has direction and purpose instigated by God. If members of an audience accept this presupposition of apocalyptic ideology, then the interpretation of the canonical apocalypses in relation to the audience’s context can lead them to understand that they have a part to play in a larger divine plan (Brummet 1984:88). This can evoke a sense of purpose which contains a strong motivational force that legitimates action beyond the norm to resolve the perceived current crisis (Reid 1983:241). This sense of purpose can be transformed into deep commitment and resolve by referring to divine authority over and above secular authority, even if the secular power claims divine authority as part of its own institution, and especially if the secular power, or its agents, are perceived to have transgressed the established boundaries of ‘God’s law’. Hauge harnessed this motivational force by seeming to demonstrate to his readership that a divine insight into Revelation indicated their historical context as being on the verge of the sixth and most crucial of seven dispensations. In such a situation, where those called to preach were not fulfilling that calling, others must ‘obey God rather than men’ and do the preaching themselves (*Skr.* II 73, 28-32). As apocalyptic rhetoric views history from the perspective of the End, it has the effect of cancelling ‘the autonomy of

the present'. This also legitimises action that is free to proceed beyond normal behavioural boundaries (Borchardt 1990:4); thus could '*Huus og Gods, ja alle legemlige, endog nødvendige Ting gaae i Grunde*' (Skr. II 73, 23-25) to allow for a preaching task that had 'eternal consequence'.

Dwelling on the imminence of the End is characteristic of apocalyptic and, in locating his own context as near the End, Hauge added a sense of persuasive urgency and energy to his call to spread the gospel - a trait common to Pietistic millennialism (Rast 2000:10). The imminence and urgency of his message were enhanced by his refusal to stipulate that a 'prophetic year' (Rev. 20:2) or a 'prophetic day' (Rev. 11:3) were equivalent to a particular length of earthly time and by his refusal to specify a date for Jesus' return and Judgement Day. The unknown time-frame thus gave the reader a sense urgency regarding the necessity of spreading the gospel, i.e. Jesus could return at any moment. This is in stark contrast to the depiction of a distant event, which is more characteristic of the type of modern post-millennialism which espouses social activism (Moorehead 1999).

The sense of urgency in Hauge's apocalyptic is further enhanced by his particular interpretation of the letters to the seven churches, the seven seals, trumpets and bowls of wrath. Apocalyptic interpretation usually tends to portray these symbols as representing a string of consecutive events, as is characteristic of Bengel (Burk 1837:292-294). Hauge's interpretation depicts the letters to the seven churches and the seven seals, trumpets, and bowls of wrath as a series of seven concurrent events. The superimposition of these apocalyptic scenarios and their imagery has the effect of 'collapsing' the sense of time usually associated with the narrative of Revelation. This adds to the sense of urgency by drawing events usually perceived as happening sometime in the distant future to a point much closer in time.

4.4 Prophecy and apocalyptic working in synergy

So far in this chapter we have examined Hauge's apocalyptic in isolation from the prophetic aspect of his writing. This begs the question as to how the apocalyptic and the prophetic interact with each other in his early texts, and with

what results. In order to contemplate their possible interaction, it is first necessary to see how prophecy and apocalyptic compare and contrast with each other in relation to various sets of common characteristics. A comparison between the characteristics of prophecy and apocalyptic based on Sandy (2002:107) is presented in Figure 5.2 below.

Characteristics of Prophecy	Characteristics of Apocalyptic	Common function
Laments the sinfulness on the Earth and urges repentance	Asserts the ever present wickedness is beyond hope, the only solution is total destruction	Criticising
Reveals God's displeasure with his people	Assumes that the readers are themselves displeased with the evil around them	Criticising
Calls people back to obedience to God	Calls for the few remaining faithful to persevere until the end	Criticising / energising
Announces that God is going to judge sin and offer salvation, usually through natural means or human agents	Announces God himself is going to intervene and judge the world through supernatural means	Criticising / energising
Predicts both immediate and distant judgement and salvation	Focuses on final solutions not short term answers	Criticising / energising
Presents the message as (figurative and poetic) speech from God	Presents the message in graphic images and symbols as the result or interpretation of a vision	

Figure 5.2: A comparison of the characteristics of prophecy and apocalyptic and the common functions of those characteristics

Although there are differences between the pairs of characteristics, each pair has in common one or both of the functions of prophetic imagination - prophetic criticising and prophetic energising – thus demonstrating a degree of relationship.

Looking at the pairs of characteristics it can be seen that one way in which apocalyptic differs from prophecy is that apocalyptic appears to be concerned with the relatively *distant* future - the 'not yet', and prophecy appears to be concerned with the present or the relatively immediate future - the 'now'. However, the matter is not so simple. As we have seen, apocalyptic has a tendency to '*forrykke avstandene, å flytte den siste tids milepæle attover*' (Gunnarson 1928:20) and make the apparently 'not yet' into the imminent 'now'. Prophecy can, in its tendency to depict future events as contingent on the hearer's response, transmute the 'now' of its message into the 'not yet' in the sense that there is still time remaining in which to repent and the possibility of delaying or averting judgement.

In texts which contain both apocalyptic and prophecy, as in Hauge's case, the temporal incongruities between apocalyptic and prophecy set up a tension in the text between 'the now' and 'the not yet'. In Christian thought, this tension originates from Jesus' understanding of his experience of the 'Spirit of the End-Time' which brought the future promised 'Kingdom of God' directly into the present (Dunn 1975:47-49, 89). After Pentecost, this tension became a regular feature of Christian discourse which was produced by groups or individuals claiming to have had an overwhelming experience of God's Spirit, and it sprang from the understanding that the outpouring of the Spirit was considered to be a sign of the End Times (Joel 2:28-29) (Dunn 1975:161-162). Such groups and individuals thus had, and still do have, 'no doubt that they are living in the last days and that history is reaching its climax and consummation' (Dunn 1975:162).

As Hauge's experience of 5 April 1796 has been likened to an overwhelming experience of God's Spirit (*åndsopplevelse*) (Aarflot 1969:74), it is no surprise that the apocalyptic 'now' is found in his early writings. This apocalyptic 'now' is a reflection of a 'consciousness of a radical new relationship with God determining the whole of life's course in the light of the imminent End' (Dunn 1975:309). On the other hand, the prophetic thread of Hauge's writing becomes the 'not yet', and permits space in his message for the warning and promise of prophecy in the hope that people will be added to the number of the 'saved'

before the End occurs. For the individual living in ‘eschatological tension’, an experience of the Spirit is not only the present realisation of a future reality, but also the promise of something begun but not yet fully accomplished.

Seen in terms of criticising and energising functions, this eschatological tension in Hauge’s writing permits us to understand the prophetic strand of his discourse from a macro-perspective as prophetic criticising, i.e. the discourse that seeks to ‘*lære og formane*’ people so that they come to ‘true repentance’ while there is still time in order to avoid punishment in the present life and the life to come. This eschatological tension also permits us to understand the apocalyptic strand in macro-perspective as prophetic energising, i.e. discourse that seeks to energise believers into sharing the gospel with others with an urgency borne of a confident knowledge of the imminence of the End and of God’s divinely ordained (*kairos*) moment in the overarching plan for human history. Looking at Hauge’s early writing in this way does not dismiss the fact that both the prophetic and apocalyptic strands of his rhetoric themselves consist of criticising and energising strands which contribute significant persuasive moments to each rhetorical genre, but shows that each genre has a specific task in relation to the over all message of his texts.

Here it is necessary to point out that Gundersen has also identified two strands of discourse in Hauge’s early writings which he described as ‘*dom og oppbyggelse*’ (Gundersen 2001:80-84, see also Chapter 4, Section 1.3). For Gundersen, ‘*dom*’ represents the apocalyptic thread or register in Hauge’s writing, and ‘*oppbyggelse*’ represents Hauge’s dependence on pietistic devotional literature. Using Gundersen’s terminology, it is easy to assume that the apocalyptic thread in Hauge’s writing is the criticising thread because ‘*dom*’ = ‘judgement’ and implies criticism; and that the ‘*oppbyggelig*’ is the energising thread because ‘*oppbyggelse*’ = ‘edification’, which has a positive or energising implication. However, this is in complete contrast to the functions of the prophetic and apocalyptic rhetoric in Hauge’s discourse proposed by my argument. What must be understood is that Gundersen’s work seeks to identify the various traditions within the textual poly-system of late eighteenth-century Norwegian culture which have influenced the make-up of Hauge’s idiosyncratic discourse. In

contrast, the present argument seeks to identify the *function* of the two threads in Hauge's discourse, not their textual or cultural origin.

5. Summary and Conclusions

There is an obvious thread of apocalyptic rhetoric in Hauge's early works which uses the apocalyptic passages of the Bible as a vehicle for the particular message he wished to convey. This has not been described in any detail by Hauge's early commentators other than by Norborg, who saw Hauge's apocalyptic as the psychological result of his perceived frustration at not being able to become a priest. The most recent research depicts Hauge's apocalyptic as a reflection of an apocalyptic visionary tradition present in Norwegian popular culture; a view which I contend has more bearing on its reception than its production.

Hauge's early commentators limited their perception of Hauge's apocalyptic to three parts of his early works in which he discussed the meaning of the symbolism in various parts of Revelation, although Gundersen (2001) recognises that an apocalyptic register runs right the way through these texts. Identification of the main presuppositions of apocalypticism in *BVD*, a text not usually considered to be especially apocalyptic in nature, indicates that they were indeed written from an apocalyptic worldview in which the writer saw the present from the aspect of the imminent End and understood his own times as part of the last events of history. This implies that the greater part of Hauge's apocalyptic was 'hidden' in the sense that it does not refer directly to apocalyptic passages in the Bible or use apocalyptic symbolism, and is one reason Hauge's apocalyptic has been overlooked by earlier commentators.

Other than Norborg's identification of Hauge's correlation of the clergy with the 'false prophets' expected in the Last Days, no detailed description of Hauge's understanding of the apocalyptic symbolism of Revelation has been published. The key to understanding Hauge's apocalyptic thinking and his understanding of apocalyptic symbolism in relation to his own time can be construed from a careful reading of *Forklaringer over Nogle Profesier* (GV- 7). The more obvious apocalyptic passages in *En Sandheds Bekiendelse* and *De Eenfoldiges Lære* are

essentially footnotes to *GV-7*, a chapter which also provides the key to some of the more cryptic apocalyptic allusions in *Verdens Daarlighed*.

Hauge presented his interpretation of some of the prophecies in Revelation as having been revealed to him by divine inspiration. He intensified this claim by stating that his interpretation was substantiated by other apocalyptic passages such as Daniel 12, Matthew 24 and 2 Thessalonians 2. As with prophecy, these devices were intended to legitimate his interpretation and its constituent message for his audience.

Hauge's interpretation of Revelation perceived the history of the Church as consisting of seven dispensations, or periods of history. He understood different aspects of each of these dispensations to be described by the symbolism in the letters to the seven churches and the prophecies concerning the seven trumpets, seven seals and seven bowls of wrath. Although Bang stated that Hauge's apocalyptic was reminiscent of Johan Bengel, Hauge's dispensationalism is more in line with that of Joachim Lange, with whom Bengel was in constant dispute.

Hauge identified the fourth dispensation with the Reformation, and the fifth with his own context. The 'secret' Hauge considered he had been revealed by God was that a great change was about to occur. This '*Forandring*' would usher in the sixth dispensation in which 'true Christianity would gain the upper hand'. Hauge related this sixth dispensation to the last dissemination of the gospel which had been prophesied by Jesus to occur just before the End. The thrust of Hauge's apocalyptic message was thus that true believers should make the most of the opportunity of this sixth dispensation to spread the gospel to the ends of the earth, the accomplishment of which was another sign of the End of the Age. Hauge equated the increase in the numbers of 'false teachers', another sign of the imminent End, with the spread of rationalist philosophy among the clergy and with the fact that their lifestyle was inconsistent with his understanding of biblical teaching. Hauge used this 'sign' of the 'false teachers' as a reason why his lay audience should preach the gospel even though such activity was not the behavioural or legally acceptable norm. To strengthen this argument Hauge used

the visions of the 'Woman and the Dragon', 'Michael and the Dragon' and the 'Angel and the Little Scroll' to describe various aspects of how the last dissemination of the gospel would proceed and he stressed that it would involve persecution for those who preached the gospel, especially in its inception and conclusion. In common with negative apocalyptic, Hauge advocated passive resistance to this persecution, but his negative apocalyptic was idiosyncratically reformist in that he also advocated ameliorating action in the form of lay preaching.

Careful reading of *GV-7* indicates that Hauge equated the sixth dispensation with an 'earthly millennium' (Rev. 20) in which the gospel would advance in great strides. Hauge's refusal to equate 'prophetic time' with 'worldly time' provided no clue to the length of this 'millennium', a fact which brought a sense of urgency to his call to mission – the time was uncertain and short. He considered that the blowing of the seventh trumpet would usher in the seventh dispensation, commencing with Judgement Day, and that this would be followed by a heavenly millennium. An interesting aspect of this depiction is that at no point did Hauge mention the visible return of Christ, but hints that he believed this would occur after the end of an earthly millennium and the beginning of a heavenly millennium.

Although Hauge's apocalyptic finds its starting point in the imminence of the End, its primary focus is on the sixth dispensation and the signs of the End demonstrated in his own context. This leads us to conclude that the primary message of Hauge's apocalyptic was not one that intended to use the threat of Judgement Day to precipitate the conversion of its audience, but one which sought to energise the reader to mission. The imminence of the End and the dire state of those whose official call it was to preach the gospel were used as devices to energise and legitimate action that was beyond the behavioural norm. From this point of view it is possible to consider Hauge's apocalyptic to be of the 'positive' type in that his nostalgia for the golden years of Pietism and his criticism of the clergy sought to re-establish what he considered to be the rightful established order.

Finally, I have suggested that Hauge's apocalyptic can be envisaged in macro-perspective as the energising thread in his over all message, whereas the prophetic thread of his message is the critical thread that is more concerned with bringing readers to repentance while there is still time remaining. The idiosyncrasies of the temporal dimensions of the apocalyptic ('not yet' but 'now') and prophetic ('now' but 'not yet') threads in Hauge's discourse set up a tension in the text that can be described as the result of Hauge's 'eschatological sense of the Spirit'. This explains the '*stylistisk vekslning*' that Gundersen observed in Hauge's discourse but which, as discussed above, is completely contrary to Gundersen's understanding of the two threads in Hauge's discourse as derivative of '*dom*' (popular apocalyptic) and '*oppbyggelse*' (pietistic devotional literature).

This examination of Hauge's apocalyptic demonstrates its idiosyncrasy and imagination. Although his interpretations of Revelation have been described as allegorical, i.e. showing how biblical events symbolise abstract truths, a close reading of *GV-7* indicates that Hauge's interpretations were mainly prophetic, i.e. a literal depiction of his historical context in that the biblical narrative had predicted what was then occurring and gave clues as to what was about to occur. Hauge's apocalyptic can also be considered prophetic in that it criticised his present context, especially in relation to the clergy, and energised a new reality in its urgent call to preach the gospel.

The examination of the formal aspects of Hauge's prophetic speech described in Chapters 3-5 concludes the first stage of this investigation of prophetic imagination as a means of understanding how his message effected change in his hearers. Having identified and described the various forms of prophetic speech in Hauge's early texts, the study now shifts focus and requires the identification of the activated symbols in Hauge's prophetic criticising and prophetic energising which, working in tandem, constitute the locus of his prophetic imagination. Chapter 6 presents the symbols which were dismantled and / or transformed by Hauge's prophetic criticism. These were identified by means of an examination of what I have termed Hauge's 'implicit prophetic narrative' and its particular manifestations in his critical speech. Chapter 7 examines the

implicit prophetic narrative in Hauge's energising prophetic speech and identifies the various key symbols generated by that speech which enabled his readers to reframe their perception of reality to energising effect.

Chapter 6: Prophetic Narratives and Prophetic Criticism

1. Introduction

The work presented in the first part of this thesis indicates that Hauge's early texts can be considered as prophecy at both a general and specific level. Some specific prophetic utterances identified in these texts have been found to be either criticising or energising in nature, conforming to forms found in the major biblical genres of prophetic speech - the announcement of judgement and the announcement of salvation. The early texts have also been shown to draw on the apocalyptic genre - a form of prophecy which contains both criticising and energising threads.

The second part of this thesis takes a closer look at the parts of Hauge's texts which display specific prophetic speech. The intention of this examination is to identify the symbols fundamental to the operation of the criticising and energising functions of Hauge's prophetic imagination.

2. Brueggemann's use of the term 'symbol'

Brueggemann does not give a precise definition of his use of the term 'symbol' at any point in *Prophetic Imagination*, but it is clear that he uses it in the sense of 'objects, people, ideas and events which stand for or suggest something else with which these things are associated, either explicitly or in some more subtle way' (Collins 2000:1551).

2.1 Symbols that criticise

As Brueggemann's paradigm is based on an examination of the history of Israel and the speech of the Hebrew prophets as depicted in the OT, we find, for example, that he assigns the Exodus event as a symbol of what he terms 'redemptive honesty'. This symbol, when reactivated from the cultural memory of the Jewish community, acts to criticise the dominant consciousness addressed

by the speech of the prophet in that it evokes memories of Israel's release from bondage in Egypt (Brueggemann 2001:45). This symbol was reactivated with great effect by the later OT prophets when they addressed Israel regarding their hoped for return from exile in Babylon; and by Jesus, in relation to the eschatological hopes of first-century Judaism for a restored Israel (Wright 2001:205)

So far so good, but the reactivation of a symbol lying dormant in the community's historical memory is not the use of 'symbol' which Brueggemann shows Jesus using to criticise the religious regime of early first-century Judaism. He describes Jesus' words and actions as *subverting* established key symbols which *were very much to the fore* in Jewish cultural consciousness: 'the Temple', 'Sabbath observance', and 'food rules' (Brueggemann 2001:84ff). These symbols, along with 'family / nation' and 'land / possessions', were the key means by which Israel defined its national and religious identity in the first century (Wright 2001:283).

2.2 Symbols that energise

In his discussion of prophetic energising in the OT, Brueggemann uses the terms 'symbol', 'image' and 'metaphor' interchangeably (Brueggemann 2001:76). The energising 'symbols' he describes are represented by the symbolic imagery used by the later OT prophets: 'singing a new song' (p.74), 'birth to the barren' (p.75), and 'nourishment' / 'fresh bread' (p.76), all of which are energising in that they are words and phrases which 'evoke alternatives' or new beginnings (p.77). These images are reactivated symbols from the culture's historical past: 'singing a new song' evokes the event in which Miriam sang on the shores of the Dead Sea after the drowning of Pharaoh and his army; 'birth to the barren' evokes the promise of God to Abraham's barren wife, Sarah, from whom a nation was born; and 'nourishment' evokes the remembrance of the miraculous provision of food in the wilderness after the flight from Egypt.

Brueggemann does not address the matter of energising symbols in the words and actions of Jesus of Nazareth in any detail; rather he looks briefly at how aspects of Jesus' life, i.e. his birth and resurrection, are symbolic events which

evoke aspects of the Exodus event. Wright, however, undertakes a thorough examination of Jesus' energising use of symbols; making it clear that Jesus did not directly *reactivate* symbols from the culture's historical past, but *subverted* (prophetic criticising) and *transformed* (prophetic energising) symbols already active in the culture's present by means of his actions and the stories he told (Wright 2001:428ff).

2.3 Conclusion

Brueggemann's paradigm (2001) is a useful starting point for examining how prophetic speech can move individuals and communities from a dominant consciousness into an alternative consciousness. The identification in prophetic speech of language that criticises and energises (p.3), that grieves (p.11) and hopes (p.66), and that 'cuts through numbness' (p.45) and 'counters despair' (p.63), serves as a means of breaking up Hauge's early texts for initial examination. Beyond this, Brueggemann's description of the function of symbol in prophetic utterance, which I had hoped might provide the means to pick through the detail of the texts once their criticising and energising speech was laid bare, is too limited to be of particular application outside the context of OT prophetic speech. As Brueggemann's application of his ideas about symbolism to the prophetic task of Jesus of Nazareth demonstrates, it is difficult to limit the imaginative aspect of prophetic speech purely to the *reactivation of dormant symbols from a culture's historic past*. This observation is particularly pertinent when dealing with cultures that do not have the same richness of historical narrative and symbolism in their national heritage as Israel.

3. Supplementing Brueggemann's paradigm

Brueggemann's handling of the role of symbol in *Prophetic Imagination* can be supplemented and developed by importing aspects of Tom Wright's 'worldview schema'. In *Jesus and the Victory of God* (2001) Wright describes how the

prophetic praxis of Jesus of Nazareth is consistent with that of key figures in world history who have caused their followers to exchange one worldview for a completely different one, i.e. to move from the perception of reality generated by the dominant consciousness or worldview to one generated by an alternative consciousness or worldview. Fundamentally Wright's schema represents the same process as that proposed by Brueggemann's prophetic imagination, but it is flexible enough to be applied to a study of the transformative action of prophetic speech outside an OT context. Wright's discussion of the role of *symbols* in prophetic words and actions is the main point of contact with Brueggemann's paradigm. The major difference is that Wright describes the symbols involved in prophetic speech as being 'evoked, transformed or generated' by the *narrative aspect* ('story') of the words and actions of the prophet, rather than restricting them purely to being 'reactivated' from a community's historical past by a prophetic announcement (p.142). Wright's view of the role of symbol in prophetic speech and action allows us to refine our examination of the prophetic speech found in Hauge's early texts in two ways:

Firstly it indicates that a study of narrative in Hauge's prophetic speech will aid the identification of the symbols that form the basis of his prophetic imagination. It is also expected that such a study would include not only the specific prophetic utterances which have criticising and energising functions, but also statements which use the apocalyptic genre or contain charismatic exegesis, as all forms of statement 'demand to be heard within the context of the full implicit plot' of Hauge's prophetic utterance (Wright 2001:198).

Secondly, Wright's view of the role of symbol in prophetic speech and action allows the search for the symbols active in Hauge's prophetic imagination to extend outside Norway's cultural and sociological *history*. Although Hauge's prophetic speech may indeed evoke symbolism from Norway's past, especially from its Lutheran Christian heritage, Wright's schema suggests that it is more likely that Hauge's prophetic speech acts by addressing and transforming key symbols that are already active in the dominant reality of the culture in which it was spoken, i.e. in Hauge's *present* context.

4. Worldviews and mindsets

Before examining aspects of narrative in Hauge's prophetic speech, it is essential to understand the basic workings of Wright's schema and how it relates to Hauge's prophetic task. Wright describes a worldview as 'the lenses through which a society looks at the world, the grid upon which are plotted the multiple experiences of life' and that within a particular society its individual members operate with a variety mindsets which reflect the worldview or dominant consciousness of that society. However, in cases of 'personal crisis', Wright states that an individual may abandon the dominant worldview and adopt a different one altogether (2001:138).

In Chapter 1 it was proposed that the dominant consciousness of Hauge's time constituted the worldview propagated by the autocracy of eighteenth-century Denmark-Norway. This worldview would have demonstrated geographical variations or local mindsets, as is inevitable across such a wide expanse of territory with the type of physical features found in Scandinavia, but it would have had the same recognisable key symbols at its heart. Considered in the light of Wright's propositions, Hauge's divine encounter of 5 April 1796 is such that it could be considered to constitute the type of 'personal crisis' which would have caused him to abandon the dominant worldview of his time and to adopt a radical, new worldview or alternative consciousness. Hauge's prophetic speech would thus have the intention of moving his hearers from the dominant worldview into the reality he now experienced and desired his listeners to share.

Wright presents the idea that worldviews can be studied in terms of four features which interact with each other in various ways. These features include 'characteristic *stories*; fundamental *symbols*; habitual *praxis*; and a set of *questions and answers* (who are we? where are we? what's wrong? what's the solution? what time is it?)' (2001:138). Wright also proposes that worldviews 'generate a set of "basic beliefs" and "aims", which find day-to-day expression in "consequent beliefs" and "intentions" which serve to explain otherwise inexplicable actions of communities and individuals' (2001:138). The way in which these two sets of four factors interrelate for any particular worldview can

be represented diagrammatically as shown in Figure 6.1 below. Essentially, this diagram represents a worldview as a self-contained system in which all the factors are interrelated. Entry into one worldview from another could, in theory, happen at any point in this schema, but it seems most probable that ‘a major personal crisis’ which generates a radical shift in worldview would happen at the level of an individual’s or a society’s ‘basic beliefs’.

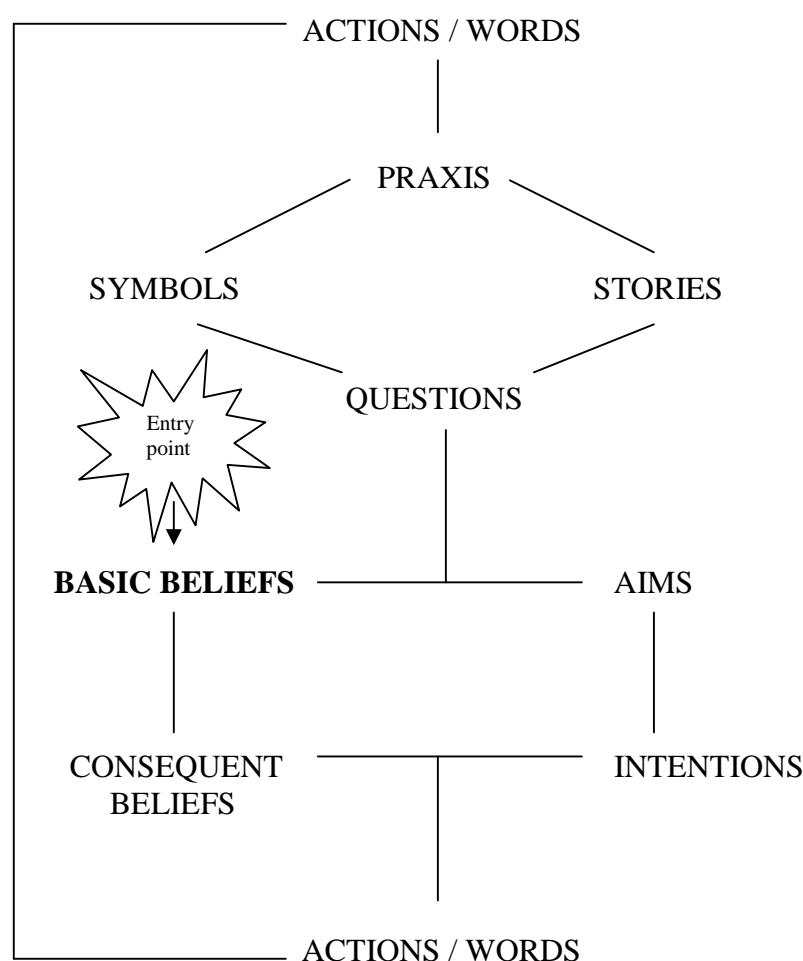


Figure 6.1: A diagrammatic representation of Wright’s schema depicting the features which make up the worldview of a society or an individual (after Wright 2001:142)

Looking at this diagram, it can be seen that if the narrative aspect, or ‘story’/ ‘stories’, told by Hauge’s prophetic speech are to be used to identify the symbols basic to the operation of his prophetic imagination, then this ‘story’ must be consistent with what we can deduce about all the various features of Hauge’s

particular worldview if Wright's schema is to demonstrate any coherence. Wright suggests two strategies for completing the schema when determining the worldview of an individual: a) a move from the established activity or praxis of the prophet to what this reveals about his beliefs, aims and intentions; or b) a move from 'an already established mindset-within-worldview to hypotheses about actions' (p.139). Wright uses the first option in the elucidation of the worldview behind Jesus' prophetic praxis, using both the implicit story and explicit stories told by Jesus' words and actions to deduce Jesus' idiosyncratic worldview within the context of first-century Judaism (Wright 2001). In Hauge's case, the facts at our disposal require the opposite move. Once the schema is completed, a move in any direction within the schema should retain clearly demonstrable thematic coherence (Hays 1989:29 in Wright 2005:61).

5. Hauge's worldview

Hauge's idiosyncratic interpretation of the Book of Revelation in *GV-7* provides a crucial starting point in the mapping of Hauge's worldview. As described in Chapter 5, Hauge believed this interpretation had been given to him by divine revelation, i.e. it could be considered to be a significant part of the 'major personal crisis' which created his alternative worldview. This observation leads to the conclusion that Hauge's understanding of the symbolism of Revelation formed a major component, if not *the* major component, of his *basic belief*. This would have subsequently influenced the complex interaction of his *aims*, *consequent beliefs* and *intentions*. In turn, this interaction of worldview features would have informed Hauge's habitual *praxis* (words and actions), the *stories* he told, his use of *symbol*, and, by the very nature of the presuppositions of apocalyptic rhetoric, it would also have answered the deep questions 'Who are we? Where are we? What's wrong? What's the solution? What time is it?' (See Chapter 5, Section 4.1.1).

More specifically, Hauge's worldview can be described as follows. His basic belief was that he was living in the sixth of seven historical dispensations – the seventh of which would herald Judgement Day itself. This basic belief led, by deduction from the interpretation of apocalyptic sayings of Jesus, to Hauge's

consequent belief that the clergy of his time were the false prophets who would characterise the End Times. It is also clear from Hauge's understanding of Revelation that his basic belief resulted in his definitive aim, in accordance with Jesus' command in Matt. 28:19, to reach as many people as possible with the gospel before the End arrived. Hauge's intention, which was informed by both his consequent belief and his aim, was thus to raise the army of true prophets which he saw predicted in Rev. 16:12. This group of people would be the means by which the nations would come to salvation before the End arrived; this being necessary purely because the false prophets (the clergy) were not, in Hauge's estimation, fulfilling their role of preaching the gospel.

Hauge's basic belief, consequent belief, aim and intentions form a convincing basis for the motivation behind his prophetic praxis, i.e. his writing, preaching and travelling. All these actions broke with the norms and restrictions imposed on a peasant by the dominant consciousness of the time and thus indicate that Hauge was operating with a radically altered worldview. Writing, travelling and preaching are all activities consistent with Hauge's aim to reach as many people as possible with the gospel before the imminent End, and with his intention to recruit helpers to assist him in this task. Hauge's praxis was itself 'prophetic' in that it both criticised the status quo by flying in the face of legislation and tradition, and energised the sub-community from which he emerged by setting an example which others could, and did, observe and emulate.

In regard to the deep questions answered by a particular worldview, Hauge's apocalyptic worldview provided a clear response (see Chapter 5 and Wright 2001:443ff):

Who are we? Hauge and his followers were the 'eschatological people of the one true God, and as such would be ... the people through whom this God would make his ways known to the rest of the earth' (p.445).

Where are we? For Hauge, as with Jesus, location was tied up with identity. Hauge's followers were not intent on building an earthly nation but preparing for

a heavenly kingdom (p.446), even though their economic practices may appear to have indicated the opposite (see Chapter 7).

What's wrong? Hauge's worldview implied that people had turned their back on God, that wickedness and vice had reached a pinnacle, that those who claimed to be prophets of the Lord were liars and deceivers who led people astray. As such, the situation had become intolerable to God.

What's the solution? In common with all apocalyptic movements, Hauge's worldview asserted that God was on the verge of intervening in human affairs, that he would judge the world, save the faithful and condemn the rest before establishing an eternal, utopian kingdom.

What time is it? Hauge believed his context heralded the inception of the sixth of seven ages, the last age before the coming of the Day of Judgement - an age in which the gospel was prophesied to advance to the ends of the earth with unprecedented haste, demanding a sense of urgency and the determination to persevere under suffering.

The identification of all the above features in the schema depicting Hauge's worldview now leaves only an examination of the 'story' or narrative aspects of his prophetic speech (and actions) and the elucidation of the symbols contained therein. For the schema to retain coherence, the narrative aspects of Hauge's prophetic speech, both implicit and explicit, are best interpreted in the light of his basic belief and understood as being directly informed by his prophetic praxis and the answers to the deep questions his worldview provided. The move from an examination of these narrative aspects to the identification of any underlying symbols should then be relatively straightforward. As Hauge based much of his specific prophetic speech on OT and NT prophetic speech forms, it is expected that the stories related by his prophetic speech will have distinct criticising and energising aspects and thus indicate which dominant worldview

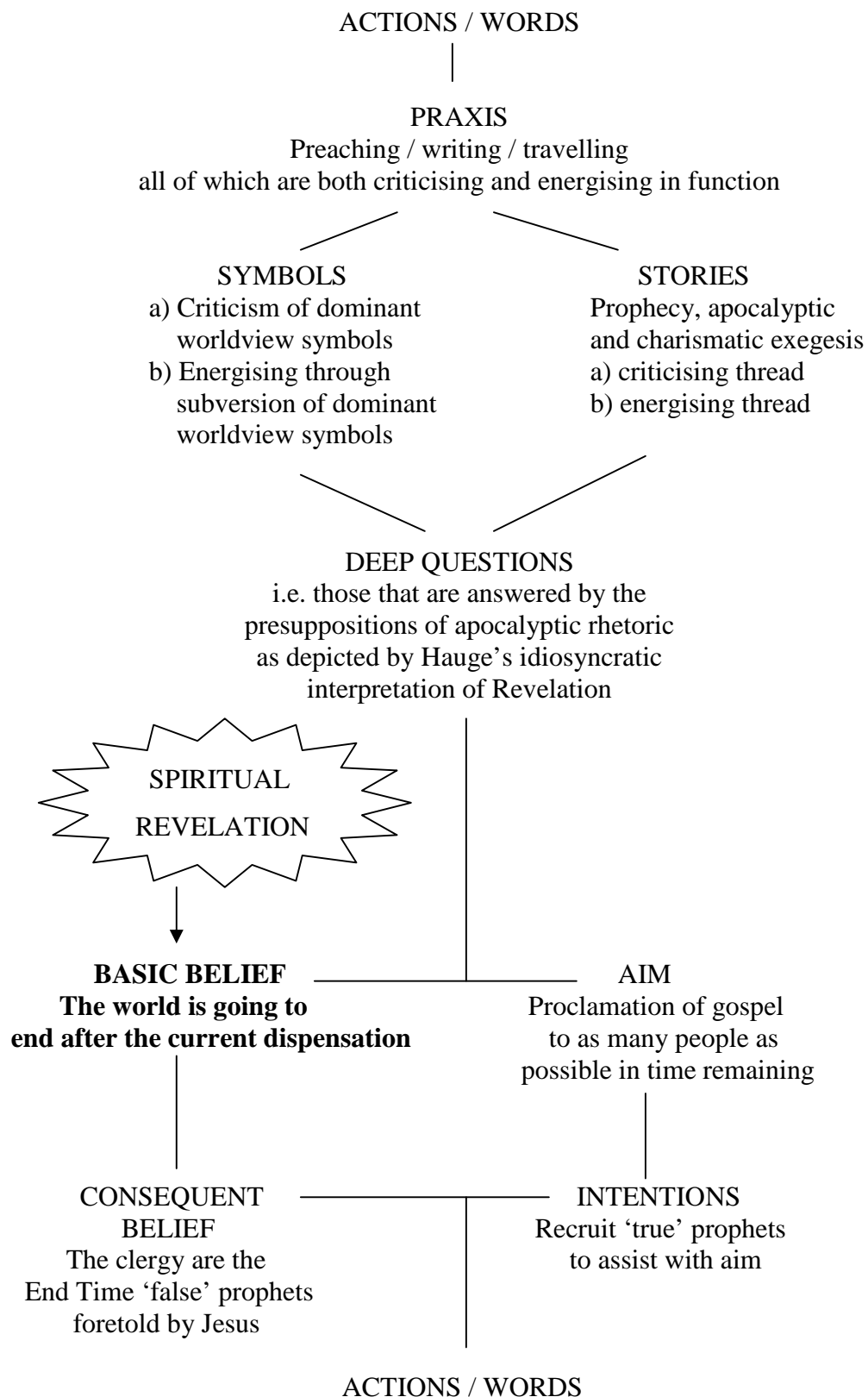


Figure 6.2 Wright's worldview schema depicting the features that made up Hauge's worldview

symbols his speech criticised and which symbols were used to energising effect. The features of Hauge's worldview identified using Wright's schema are shown in Figure 6.2 (see previous page).

6. Story in Hauge's prophetic speech

Wright's worldview schema suggests that the stories Hauge told in his early texts will be a direct consequence of, and coherent with, his particular worldview (Wright 2001:199) and he indicates that the implicit narrative (meta-narrative) of Hauge's prophetic speech will provide the context against which his explicit stories or narratives can be best understood (p.225). As all statements 'form part of a story and only makes sense as such' (p.198), Wright's ideas suggest that the implicit narrative of Hauge's prophetic speech can also be used as a valid interpretive frame for Hauge's more general, apparently 'non-prophetic' statements.

6.1 The implicit narrative

The implicit narrative (controlling meta-narrative) behind Hauge's prophetic speech can be identified very early on in his career. Hauge summarises his prophetic task and presents its controlling meta-narrative in the prophetic announcement with which he ends *BVD-3*:

'jeg vidner da frit for alle, at han staaer med sit Sverd og vil slaae til med sin langmodige Retfærdighed. Jeg beder da enhver at de vil nedfalde i Ydmyghed for Gud og omvende sig af ganske Hierte og bekiende sine Synder med Smerter og aflade dem, saa er Gud meget rund til at forlade for sin kiere Søn Jesu Christi Skyld og formindske Straffen baade timelig og evig. Amen.'

(Skr. I 86, 19-25)

This announcement has the same underlying structure as the 'kingdom-announcement' identified by Wright as forming the controlling meta-narrative of Jesus' prophetic words and actions: 'The kingdom of God is at hand; repent and believe the gospel' (Wright 2001:244). In Hauge's case, his announcement of the coming 'kingdom' has a purely eschatological sense in that he is announcing what he considers will be an imminent apocalypse:

The kingdom of God / end of the world is at hand:

'jeg vidner da frit for alle, at han staaer med sit Sverd og vil slaae til med sin langmodige Retfærdighed.

Repent:

Jeg beder da enhver at de vil nedfalde i Ydmyghed for Gud og omvende sig af ganske Hierte og bekiende sine Synder med Smerter og aflade dem,

and believe the gospel:

saa er Gud meget rund til at forlade for sin kiere Son Jesu Christi Skyld og formindske Straffen baade timelig og evig. Amen.'

Wright describes the first part of Jesus' announcement as setting the scene for the controlling meta-narrative of his prophetic speech, and the second and third parts of the announcement as indicative of 'a narrative in search of fresh characters' (Wright 2001:244). The same observations may be made of Hauge's announcement. The first part - *'Jeg vidner da frit for alle, at han staaer med sit Sverd og vil slaae til med sin langmodige Retfærdighed'* - sets an apocalyptic scene now familiar to us from Hauge's interpretation of Revelation in GV-7: God is poised to step in and destroy the world because the human situation has become intolerable. The scene would also have been familiar to Hauge's listeners - not only from the Bible, but from *Draumkvedet*, numerous popular apocalyptic prophecies, and not least from some acquaintance with Luther's verbal attacks on the Catholic Church.

As with Jesus' kingdom-announcement, Hauge's lengthier version of the exhortation to 'repent and believe' is also indicative of a narrative in search of characters. Structural analysis is the usual means applied to a text in order to identify the characters and the inter-relation of their roles. Although proponents of literary criticism have traditionally used the structural analysis of stories as a means of reading a *text*, this tool can also be used to analyse 'deep structures of thought' and draw conclusions about the 'reality which lies beyond ordinary consciousness' (Wright 2004:57). Plotting the actors in the implicit narrative of Hauge's prophetic speech can thus be seen as a valid reflection of the worldview which motivated his praxis and informed his explicit storytelling, exposing an

aspect of Hauge's world of thought which has not previously received much acknowledgement.

Griemas' theory of stories is a tool commonly used in the structural analysis of stories in relation to both characters and plot. Greimas maintained that stories characteristically contain a recurrent set of 'actants': the Sender, the Receiver, the Opponent and the Helper (Greimas 1966, quoted by Wright 2004:70, Stibbe 2003:29). These actants relate to one another in an archetypal way, in which the Sender commissions an Agent to convey an Object or undertake a Task in reference to the Receiver. The Agent is aided in the task by the Helper and hindered by the Opponent (Stibbe, 2003:29, Wright 2004:71). This inter-relationship is generally represented by the diagram shown below in Figure 6.3.

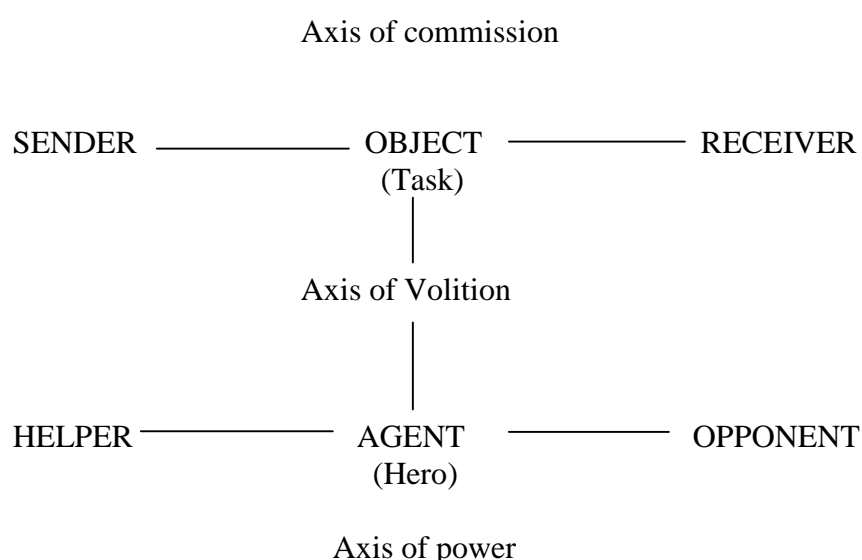


Figure 6.3: The basic diagrammatical representation of Greimas' structural analysis of stories

Using the diagram above to plot the actants in the implicit narrative of Hauge's prophetic speech, Hauge's basic prophetic announcement from *BVD-3* indicates that Hauge cast himself as the Agent or Hero. The Task is encapsulated by the second and third parts of his prophetic announcement: alerting people to the crucial stage of world history in which they live, the implication that time is short, and the proclamation of 'warning and welcome'. Hauge's commission

narratives indicate that he believed that he was called to this prophetic task by God, and that the Holy Spirit would inspire and strengthen him in his task, which thus designates the roles of both the Sender and Helper.

The implicit narrative of Hauge's prophetic speech draws two of its characters from its own audience as a result of each individual listener's response to the message of 'warning and welcome'. The message offers the choice to respond either positively and receive the message, or to respond negatively and reject the message or even to work actively against it (Wright 2001:345). In relation to Greimas' diagram, the Receiver in the implicit narrative of Hauge's prophetic speech thus consisted of those who accepted Hauge's message and altered their worldview and praxis accordingly. The Opponent consisted of two groups of people: 1) those members of the general population who rejected his message, and 2) the clergy, whom Hauge cast as the 'false prophets' Jesus prophesied would appear in the Last Days.

Holding in mind that the scene has an apocalyptic setting, the implicit narrative of Hauge's prophetic speech can therefore be depicted diagrammatically as shown in Figure 6.4 below (see next page).

Helpful though it may be in providing a contextual frame of reference for Hauge's prophetic speech, the diagram below only represents the initial sequence in the plot of its implicit narrative. The final sequence is Judgement Day itself, but the intervening topical sequence involves the expectation that the Receiver turns Helper and plays the part of a member of the army of believers who would effect the final dissemination of the gospel in the time left before the End. Just as Hauge considered himself to be inspired and empowered by the

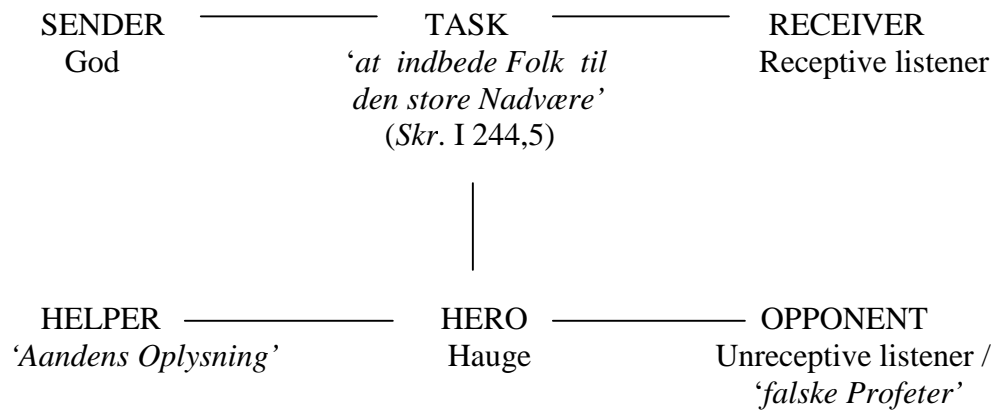


Figure 6.4: The structure of the implicit narrative of Hauge's prophetic speech

Holy Spirit, so too he expected that the receptive Receiver would be inspired and empowered by the Spirit and constitute a 'prophethood of believers' who would have an *active share* in his own prophetic task (c.f. Joel 2:28). The implicit narrative of Hauge's prophetic speech can thus be redrawn as shown below in Figure 6.5:

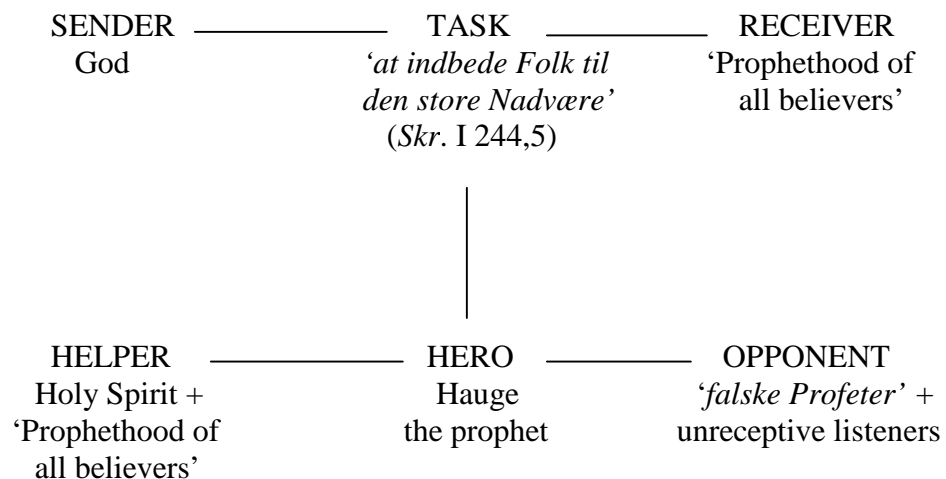


Figure 6.5 The topical sequence in the implicit narrative of Hauge's prophetic speech

The implicit, controlling narrative of Hauge's prophetic speech can be seen to be entirely consistent with his basic and consequent beliefs, his aim and intention and his resultant praxis. This controlling narrative can be summarised as follows:

Hauge believed that the end of history was approaching. The defeat of evil and the institution of a new heaven and earth were imminent, and Hauge's message invited people to ensure they had a place in the utopia which would be established. He warned the official ministers of religion that their means of advancing Christian belief were inadequate and would result in disaster on an earthly and eternal level, not only for themselves, but also for those for whom they were responsible. Those who responded to Hauge's message were called to be a 'prophethood of believers' with the special task of spreading the gospel in the time remaining before the End and were promised rewards when the Last Day arrived. In the intervening time between the present and the End, Hauge visualized himself and his prophethood of believers taking part in the final, decisive battle with a real, but invisible, satanic enemy, who would ultimately be defeated. The agents of this invisible evil were the unreceptive listener and the clergy. The prophetic task in which Hauge and his followers would be engaged would unavoidably result in persecution at the hands of these opponents, a situation which would escalate as history reached its conclusion (c.f. Wright 2001:201).

6.2 Meta-narrative and prophetic imagination

The discussion of the implicit or controlling meta-narrative of Hauge's prophetic speech could seem to be a diversion from an examination of Hauge's prophetic imagination, warranting an answer to the question as to how the idea of prophetic imagination relates to understanding Hauge's prophetic speech within the framework of the apocalyptic meta-narrative to which it appears to adhere.

This question can be answered by returning to the basic prophetic announcement found in the conclusion of *BVD-3* and using that as a point of focus for connecting the findings regarding Hauge's prophetic speech from the first stage of this research project, with the above presentation of the structural analysis of the implicit narrative of Hauge's prophetic speech.

As described above, the first part of the announcement in *BVD-3*, corresponding to the basic message ‘the end is nigh’, sets the apocalyptic scene. The second and third parts of the announcement form a warning and a welcome, the reception of which by the individual listener determines their role in the implicit story either as the receptive hearer / Receiver or the unreceptive hearer / Opponent. It is precisely the establishment of this dichotomy at the point of the choice made by the listener that indicates the locus of the energising and criticising strands of prophetic imagination in Hauge’s prophetic speech.

Prophetic energising is directed at, and concerns, the receptive listener. The findings from the first stage of my research have indicated that it is typically located in specific prophetic utterances that belong to the major genre of announcements of salvation and in the energising strand of apocalyptic which both exhibit ‘language of hope’ and the ‘indication of new beginnings’ (Brueggemann 2001:59-67). The demonstration of an implicit controlling narrative in Hauge’s prophetic speech indicates that prophetic energising will also be located in the use of *explicit stories which indicate the instigation of the Receiver into a ‘prophethood of believers’ which has a specific task to perform*. These explicit stories may contain or be qualified by various specific forms of energising prophetic speech, and are expected to use metaphors that ‘speak metaphorically about hope but concretely about the real newness that ... redefines our situation’ (Brueggemann 2001:67).

Prophetic criticism, on the other hand, is directed at and concerns the unreceptive listener – the population in general, and the ‘false prophets’ in particular – warning them of the fate that awaits them if they refuse the invitation. Prophetic criticism is distinctively located in specific prophetic utterances which belong to the major genre of announcements of judgement and in the criticising strand of apocalyptic which both exhibit ‘language of grief’ and the ‘indication of endings’ (Brueggemann 2001:46). The demonstration of an implicit controlling narrative in Hauge’s prophetic speech indicates that prophetic criticising will also be located in the use of *explicit stories which dismantle the dominant world view to which the two types of opponent belong*.

These explicit stories may contain or be qualified by various specific forms of criticising prophetic speech, and are expected to use metaphors that ‘speak metaphorically about hope but concretely about the real deathliness that hovers over us and gnaws within us’ (Brueggemann 2001:67).

The locus of prophetic imagination in Hauge’s prophetic speech can be summarised as shown below in Figure 6.6:

Prophetic criticising	Prophetic energising
In announcements of judgement	In announcements of salvation
In criticising strand of apocalyptic	In energising strand of apocalyptic
In language of grief	In language of hope
In stories relating to the Opponent	In stories relating to the Receiver
In metaphor that criticises the Opponent	In metaphor that energises the Receiver

Figure 6.6: The locus of prophetic imagination in Hauge’s prophetic speech

The remainder of this chapter looks at the criticising nature of the key themes in one of the main explicit stories found in Hauge’s early texts. This draws in utterances typified not only by announcements of judgement, but also some that are characterised by the use of apocalyptic interpretation oracles and charismatic exegesis. The intention of this examination is to pinpoint the symbols which are evoked, generated or transformed by Hauge’s prophetic criticism. An examination of themes in the explicit stories in Hauge’s energising forms of prophetic utterance is presented in Chapter 7.

7. Prophetic criticism in explicit story

The links demonstrated above between the implicit story of Hauge's prophetic speech and his prophetic imagination imply that the explicit stories in his prophetic speech which contain prophetic criticism will a) be most likely located and identified in the parts of his texts that demonstrate criticising forms of specific prophetic utterance and therefore will b) have the Opponent of the implicit narrative as their main character.

The criticising forms of specific prophetic utterance in Hauge's early texts are concentrated in *BVD-4*: '*Om Christendommens Lærdom og dens Agtpaagivenhed*', and in *GV-4*: '*Om de forføreriske Lærere og deres Frugter, tilligemed hvad de foraarsager*'. *BVD-4* contains nineteen of the twenty two criticising prophecies identified in *BVD* as a whole, plus five apocalyptic interpretation oracles. *GV-4* contains three of the fourteen criticising prophecies found in *GV* as a whole, one of which is an extensive woe form, and one apocalyptic interpretation oracle. Although other parts of Hauge's early texts also contain criticising prophecies, in order to limit the material to a manageable quantity, *BVD-4* (*Skr.* I 86-95) and *GV-4* (*Skr.* I 185-199) are the main texts used as the basis for the examination of story in the criticising aspect of Hauge's prophetic speech presented below.

7.1 The Opponent in focus

Hauge's intention was that the hearers of his message would cast themselves in the role of the Receiver in the implicit story of his prophetic speech by beginning a new life as '*en sand Christen*' (*Skr.* I 98, 22):

'Jeg beder da enhver med grædende Taare, at dem ikke lader Satan forblinde og forhærde deres Hierter, og derfor blive forskudt, hvilket vist aldrig fornøyer nogen Christen og ikke heller mig, thi da havde jeg ikke saa megen Uroe i min Aand, da jeg ikke agter nogen Ting for at vinde nogle til den Herre Jesum'

(*Skr.* I 95, 13-18)

There were, however, those who rejected Hauge's message, and who, by default, cast themselves as the Opponent in the implicit narrative of his prophetic speech. Hauge's opponents consisted of two categories of people. The largest category consisted of members of the general population: '*de fleste ... [der] nu horer med den store Hore, efter Aabenbaringens 17de Cap.*' (Skr. I 86, 18), and '*de mange uadvortes selv gode Mennesker, [der] haver forførisk Retfærdighed*' (Skr. I 99, 17). The smaller numerical category, but the one upon which Hauge laid the blame for the condition of '*de fleste*', consisted of the clergy. Hauge described them variously as '*Skribentere*' (Skr. I 87, 19), '*Lærerne*' (Skr. I 88, 28), '*Dievelens Børn*' (Skr. I 89, 31), '*Pharisæere*' (Skr. I 93, 10), '*de skriftlærde, selv gode og hofmodige*' (Skr. I 94, 28), '*de Antichristnes Aander*' (Skr. I 123, 35), and members of '*Satans Synagoger*' (Skr. I 199, 8 and Rev. 3:9), and it is these individuals who formed the subject of the explicit narrative of Hauge's criticising prophetic speech.

In *BVD-4*, Hauge indicates the controlling narrative of the criticism he addresses to the clergy when he states '*Jeg veed at Hyrden skal vise Faarene Vejen*' (Skr. I 87, 10). This aphorism is drawn from the story of the Good Shepherd and his flock in John 10:1-21, which, in Greimas' terms, can be represented by the following diagram (Stibbe 1994:102):

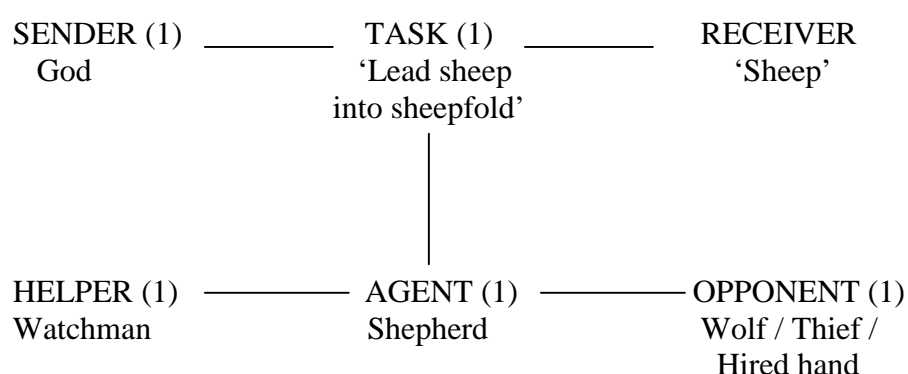


Figure 6.7: The narrative structure of the story of the Good Shepherd

In Hauge's ideal scenario, the Shepherd who '*skal vise Faarene Vejen*' is the ordained priest. However, as he makes apparent with implicit references to Jn. 10, Matt. 7:15 and Acts 20:29, this was not the situation he observed in his context:

'thi Faarene kiender den gode Hyrde, og en fremmed følger de ikke, Joh. 10 C. 5 v., uden han kan faae bedraget dem under et Faareskin [Matth. 7C. 15 V.], hvilke desværre! er skeed, at de ere komne, der ikke sparer Hiorden, Ap. G. 20 C. 26 v.'

(*Skr. I* 281, see also *Skr. I* 189, 14-24 and *Skr. I* 243, 21-25)

The 'shepherds' were not fulfilling the task to which they had been called by God, but had assumed the role of the Opponent - they had become wolves who ravaged the flock (*Skr. I* 281), hired hands (*Skr. I* 186, 8 and *Skr. II* 51, 15-7), and thieves (*Skr. II* 71,18). This shift in role on the part of the Agent leaves that role vacant, the Task unfulfilled, and the Receiver vulnerable to the Opponent; c.f. Matt. 9:36 in which Jesus describes the Jews as 'sheep without a shepherd':

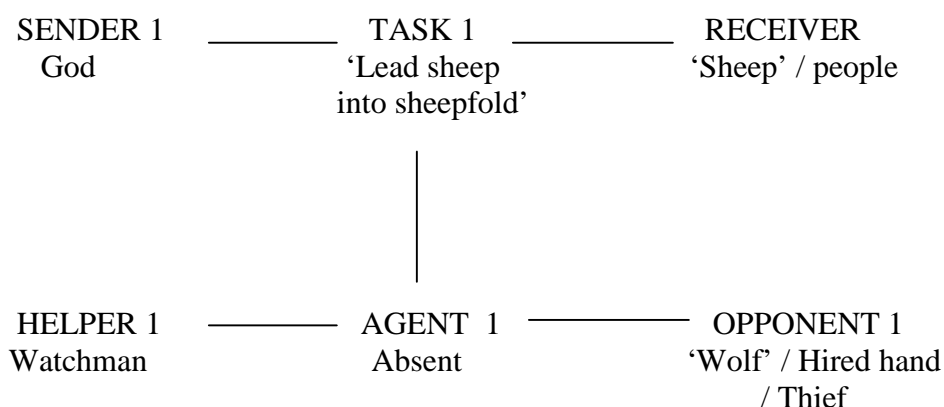


Figure 6.8: The narrative structure of the story of the Good Shepherd as Hauge saw it represented in his context (Agent absent)

Seen from another perspective, Opponent 1 has taken the role of Agent 2 in a completely different narrative:

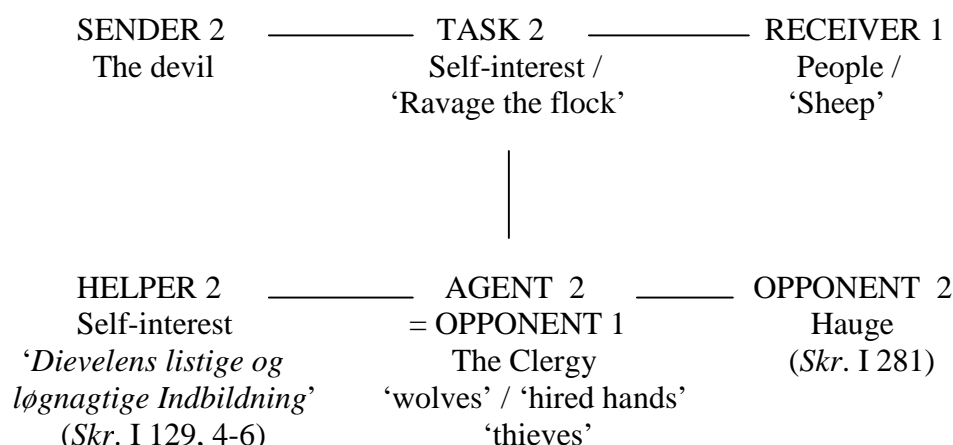


Figure 6.9: The controlling narrative of Hauge's criticising prophetic speech

This deviation from the Good Shepherd narrative in Jn. 10 forms the controlling narrative of Hauge's criticising speech; it depicts not what the situation ought to be, but rather what it actually is. The clergy are no longer 'good shepherds', but 'wolves', 'hired hands' and 'thieves', i.e. the 'false prophets', whom Hauge depicts as not having been sent by God:

'Herren haver talet: ... Jeg sendte ikke Propheterne og de løbe: Jeg talede ikke til dem, og de spaaede, og dersom de havde staaet i mit hemmelige Raad, og ladet mit Folk høre mit Ord, da havde de omvendt dem fra deres onde Veye.'

(Skr. II 42, 17- 20)

If God was no longer the Sender, the logical corollary for Hauge was that Sender 2 was the devil, and the clergy were '*de onde Satans Redskaber*' (Skr. II 53, 21, see also Skr. I 126, 20). Casting the devil as Sender 2 automatically assigns Task 2, the 'ravaging of the flock', as 'the devil's work'. The Receiver, 'the flock', now plays the role of victim - a situation against which Hauge perceived himself called to be God's spokesman (i.e. 'Opponent' 2):

'mod Pavens Efterfølgere skal jeg være opsetsig og en Pestilentse, [Ap. G.] 24 C. 5 V., mens jeg er til, her og hisset vidne over Siele-Myrderne, Ezech. 13 C.'

(Skr. I 281)

The role of Helper 2 in the narrative structure of Hauge's criticising prophetic speech is filled as a consequence of Agent 2 choosing to give '*Dievelens listige og løgnagtige Indbildning Samtykke*' (Skr. I 129, 4-6), i.e. giving in to temptation and prioritising 'self' over and above God's guidelines for living.

7.2 Three pronged attack

Hauge's criticising prophetic speech particularly challenges the clergy (Agent 2) in respect to his observation that they have given in to temptation (Helper 2) and have 'ravaged the flock' in order to satiate their desires (Task 2). He advances his criticisms by broaching three areas of moral weakness which Christian belief depicts as being the root of such unwholesome self-interest: '*Øyenslyst, Kiødslyst og et afgudisk, hoffærdigt eller overdaadigt Levnet ... som er: Verden, Kiødet og Dievelen*' (Skr. I 200, 27, see also 1 Jn. 2:16) or, more concisely, '*Gierrighed, Vellyst og Hofmodighed*' (Skr. I 87, 31). In BVD-5 Hauge uses a quote from Rev. 8:13 to set his observation of the increase in '*Gierrighed, Vellyst og Hofmodighed*' into an apocalyptic perspective. The three woes proclaimed by the angel (or eagle) are commonly understood to refer to the last three trumpet blasts described in Rev. 9, which we know Hauge believed related to three specific periods of time: his current context, the coming '*Forandring*' to the last dissemination of the gospel, and the eventual Day of Judgement:

'En Luther, Møller, Jersin og Johan Arent klager alle i sin Tid at der var saa faae sande Christne, saa har dem vist ikke siden formeret sig, Gud hielpe enhver til at skiønne det! thi Engelen som raaber Vee, Vee, Vee over de Mennesker som boe paa Jorden i disse Tider, som har været i Aabenbaringens 8de Cap., det er: de Mennesker som har levet efter Kiødets Lyster, og skal døe i Helvedes Pine, hvilket enhver som faaer opladte Øyne nok faaer see, at der er saa meget ondt i Verden, og derfor har en saa meget at stride med, som er onde Lyster, hvoraf en falder i Fristelse, thi Veyen er trang for Kiødet og deri Øyens-Lyster, Kiødet og et hofmodigt Levnet'

(Skr. I 101, 9 - 22)

A close examination of these three themes in Hauge's criticism of the clergy found that these indicated the dominant worldview symbols which Hauge's criticising speech addressed.

7.2.1 ‘Gierrighed’

The first of Hauge’s three themes in his criticism of the clergy was their ‘Gierrighed’, or ‘Øyenslyst’, i.e. their obsession with materialism or ‘Afguderie i Kreaturene’ (Skr. I 190, 19):

‘Øynene seer hen efter Penge, Gods, prægtig Klædedragt og al Forføngelighed, som ikke behøvedes til det nødvendige, og en Begierlighed efter andres Ting; hertil frister og onde Mennesker, som opmuntrer en til at gjøre imod Guds Befaling.’

(Skr. I 101, 22-26)

In GV-4 he clearly accused the clergy of serving their living for financial gain:

‘saadanne Hyrder viser Faarene Veyen for god Betaling, thi det største Kald er det beste at faae, saa dem kan samle sig vel Penge, eller at dem har nogle gode Venner som dem kan komme i Tidsfordriv med, i Giestebuder, Spil, Comoedier eller andre vellystige Fornøyer’

(Skr. I 186, 8-12)

He was especially critical of any clerical practices which put undue financial pressure on those who could not afford to pay. He focussed particularly on the custom of payment being required for preaching at the graveside of the deceased, as well as the practice of clergy levying taxes on individuals for the administration of communion or for absolution after confession (Thrap 1910):

‘saa store ere de, at der vil Foræring og magelige Tider til naar dem skal tale med de ringe ... og alle kan faae sine Synders Forladelse, især naar dem kan betale sin Skierv, saadanne er falske Lærere’

(Skr. I 186, 12-17)

This is particularly clear in the specific prophetic utterance (Accusation) in BVD-4 in which Hauge criticises the greed of the clergy by appropriating parts of the seven woes Jesus proclaims against the Pharisees:

Example 6.1

Messenger formula

thi Christus siger:

Accusation

I opæde Enkers Huuse og tage Ære af hverandre, [Matth. 23C. 13 V., Joh. 5C. 44V.]

Amplification

det er: naar nogen døer, saa skal en Sum Penge ud for at dømme Siælen salig, de Efterlevende til trøst,

Messenger device

det bliver, som der staaer hos Propheten Esaias:

Accusation

Mit Folk! de som prise dig salig, de forføre dig [Es. 3C. 12V.]

(Skr. I 87, 32 - Skr. I 88, 1)

This accusation not only highlights the clergy's greed but also Hauge's understanding that this characteristic was part of a larger deception the clergy were inflicting on an unsuspecting public. The combination of greed and deception finds suitable expression in Hauge's description of the clergy as wolves in sheep's clothing:

'Vildfarelser nu ere mange, og vi er omringet med saa mange Ulve'

(Skr. I 76, 27)

'thi her er for mange Ulve under Faareskind, der ere høye for Verden, men en Vederstyggelighed for Gud'

(Skr. I 148, 17)

'I ere de som retfærdiggjør eder selv for Menneskene, men Gud seer til Hiertet, thi hvad som høyt er for Menneskene, er en vederstyggelig Ting for Gud, saaledes siger Jesus hos Lucas 16 Cap. og hos Matth. 7 Cap: men vogter eder for falske Propheter som komme til eder i Faare-Klæder, men indvortes ere de rivende Ulve, af deres Frugt skal I kiende dem.'

(Skr. I 185, 11-16)

Hauge extended his figurative description of the clergy being ‘sheep in wolves’ clothing’ to depict the deception he perceived resulting from their hypocrisy and false teaching (see Section 7.2.3). This is exemplified by the following Admonition from *GV-4*:

Example 6.2

*‘det var ønskeligt at Menneskene erindre sig det Jesus siger om dem som kommer i **Faareskind** eller **bløde Klæder**, som er med **Hyklerie** og **falske Forevendinger**, og derved bedrager Sielene med Saligheds Haab indtil de vaagner i Helvede’*

(Skr. I 186, 17-21)

and further illustrated by an Accusation from *BVD-4*:

Example 6.3

Legitimation device

vor Frelser siger i det 11te Cap. om Johannes den Døbere:

Accusation

*Hvad ere I udgangne at see? et Menneske i **bløde Klæder**, de ere i Kongers Huuse [Matth. 11C. 7V.],*

Amplification

*det er: at en **hykler** med andre og selv [lever] i Vellystighed.’*

(Skr. I 88, 21-24)

7.2.2 ‘Vellyst’

The second of Hauge’s three themes in his criticism of the clergy was that they lived ‘*efter Kiødets Lyster*’ (Skr. I 101, 17), which he considered to include ‘*Horerie eller Ureenlighed, Fraadserie og Drukkenskab, Søvsn og Ørkesløshed*’ (Skr. I 101, 26-29). Hauge described this kind of behaviour as the result of having ‘*Afguder i andre Mennesker*’ (Skr. I 190, 16), and he considered it to be

typified by the clergy's cultivation of 'gode Venner' with whom they could 'øve Sladder, Fantasier, med Dans, Spil, Comoedier, Giestebuder, med alle kiødelige Forlystelser' (Skr. I 190, 16-19, see also Skr. I 186, 10-12).

In *BVD-4* Hauge addressed this issue in a series of criticising prophecies exemplified by those shown below:

Example 6.4

Announcement of Judgement

Messenger formula

I Marci 7de siger Christus:

Accusation

at af Hiertet udgaaer onde Tanker, Hoer, Skiørlevnet, Manslot, Tyverie, Gierrighed, Ondskab, Sviig, Uteerlighed, et ondt Øye, Guds Bespottelse, Hofmod, Daarskab. Alle disse onde Stykker udgaaer indvortes fra og gjøre Mennisket([sic] ureent [7C. 20V.],

Threat

det er: dem som saadant gjør, bliver forskudt fra Gud.

Accusation

Accusation

*Saadant regierer iblandt Menneskene nu seer jeg;
randsag enhver hos sig, saa skal han nok finde at det er sandt,
og hver den som gjør Synd er af Dievelen*

Legitimation device

siger Apostelen Johannes [1 Joh. 3C. 8V.]

Messenger formula

og Christus siger:

Accusation

*I ere af en Fader, Dievelen, og gjør denne eders Faders Begiering;
han var en Manddrabere af Begyndelsen og kunde ikke blive staaende i Sandheden, thi Sandheden er ikke i hannem; naar han taler Løgner, da taler han af sit eget, thi han er en Løgnere og dens Fader [Joh. 8C. 44V.].*

Proclamation device

Dette betænke enhver,

Accusation

at hvo som hykler og lyver, han er Dievelens Barn'

(Skr. I 89, 16-31)

The key to identifying the main characters addressed by the specific prophecies above is Hauge's final statement that *'hvo som hykler og lyver, han er Dievelens Barn'*. As we saw above, Hauge considered hypocrisy and lying to be characteristic of the clergy, and he compared their smooth talk with *'blødeklæder'* (soft clothing) and their lying with the *'Faareskin'* (sheepskin) worn by wolves in disguise. Thus, although Hauge applied the epithet *'Dievelens Barn'* to the laity as well as the clergy, it is apparent that Hauge had the clergy particularly in mind here. This proposal is substantiated by comparing the woe oracle that follows these specific criticising prophecies in *BVD-4* (Skr. I 89, 31-33) with the woe oracles which Hauge clearly addressed to the clergy in *GV-4* (Skr. I 186, 21 - Skr. I 187, 16). In both cases he proclaims 'woe' on those who *'siger om det Onde godt og ... som gjør Lyset til Mørket'*, i.e. those who are liars, but in the second case the extended nature of the oracle makes it clear that these criticisms are addressed to *'falske Lærere ... som kommer i Faareskind eller bløde Klæder, som er med Hyklerie og falske Forevendinger, og derved bedrager Sielene'* (Skr. I 186, 16-20).

7.2.3 'Hofmodighed'

The third of Hauge's three themes in his criticism of the clergy was that they lived *'et hofmodigt Levnet'* (Skr. I 101, 29). He considered this to be a form of idolatry which arose when *'en elsker sig selv, søger egen Ære, Lyst og Fornøjelse hos sig og vil gierne blive høyt agtet og æret i Verden, dertil foragter andre som er af ringere Stand'* (Skr. I 190, 13-16). Hauge admitted that pride was *'det værste at staa imod for alle, og især dem der er begavet med store Gaver'* (Skr. I 101, 33-35) and readily acknowledged that he struggled with pride as a result of receiving the spiritual revelation and understanding he considered he had been given by God:

‘det er farligt, naar en Ringe bliver ophøyet, og saa glemmer sin forrige Stand, da fører Høyhed til Hovmod, Forglemmelse og Ringeagtelse for den Herre, der haver hjulpet ham’

(Skr. I 281, see also Skr. I 79, 27)

These admissions did not however ameliorate his criticism of the clergy; he believed their intellectual abilities and theological education (*‘store Gaver’*) had made them proud, and had resulted in them becoming blind to what he considered to be the real spiritual truths revealed in the Bible. The blindness of the clergy is clearly expressed in the following Salvation - Judgement oracle from *BVD-4*. Their blindness is highlighted by contrasting it with the humility of the simple-hearted believer – one who is readily given spiritual insight by the Holy Spirit:

Example 6.5

Salvation-Judgement Oracle

Legitimation device

det forklarer Jesus hos Johannes 9de:

Promise

*Jeg er kommen til dem i Verden, paa det at de som ikke see skulde
vorde seende,*

Threat

og de som see skulde vorde blinde [Joh. 9C. 39V.],

Amplification

det er:

Promise (Hauge)

*de enfoldige kierlige Mennesker som ikke forstaaer sig paa Guds
Ord, dem oplyser han med sin Hellig Aand, og de faaer den levende
Troe;*

Threat (Hauge)

*men de skriftlærde, selv gode og hofmodige, dem skal vorde
aandelige blinde*

(Skr. I 94, 23-29)

Hauge's early texts indicate that he perceived three distinct emphases in the words and actions of the clergy which demonstrated their pride or 'spiritual blindness': preaching which reflected the material aspects of the Enlightenment project of the 'potato priests'; preaching which emphasised various doctrinal innovations which had resulted from the rise of Rationalism, and the practice of 'empty' rituals:

7.2.3a Full stomachs

Hauge saw the materialistic emphasis of contemporary sermons reflected in what he perceived to be the excessive lifestyle of the clergy. This is exemplified by the '*that is this*' oracle from *BVD-4* shown in Example 6.6 below.

I have designated a '*that is this*' oracle as a specific prophetic utterance which takes an event or something spoken by a person in the historical context of the Bible as a 'sign' which is fulfilled by a person, event or situation in the prophet's present context.

This hermeneutical act, which is a form of charismatic exegesis (Aune 1983:339ff.), moves beyond a purely didactic use of the biblical text which uses the historical text as a source of moral example, allegory or analogy that has relevance at any point in history. A '*that is this*' oracle uses the historical text as a source of 'types' which are considered to be precursors of something specific to the prophet's own socio-historical context (Reid 1983). The prophetic aspect of this hermeneutic is provided by the implication in the prophetic utterance that the point of fusion between past text and current context has been revealed to the prophet by divine inspiration.

In the prophetic utterance below, the description of the present context is given added weight by the implication that the clergy are to be compared with the main character in the Parable of the Rich Fool (Luke 12:13-21) – a man who lived '*lystig og vel*', yet who had not prepared for his imminent death and judgement:

Example 6.6

‘that is this’ oracle

Messenger formula

Den Herre Jesus siger:

‘Sign’

mit Huus skulle være et Bedehuus, men I have gjort det til en Røverkule [Lk. 19C. 46V.];

Indication of fulfilment in present context

det kan en sige med Sandhed nu,

Reason

thi naar en gaar til Kirken at høre Guds Ord som der fortolkes af Lærerne, som gjør Vejen breed til Himmerige og siger, at Christus har igienløst os, hans Tienere skal dem da være, men Følgerne tales ikke om, thi i det Stød forhandles om hvorledes en kan faae Liggendefæ her og blive stor og riig i det Timelige, ogsaa at leve lystig og vel [Lk. 12C. 13V.]

(Skr. I 90, 19-26)

7.2.3b Doctrinal innovations

The second form of preaching which Hauge considered indicative of pride in the clergy was preaching which promulgated doctrinal innovations, i.e. ideas that were not consistent with his understanding of Christian belief from his reading of the Bible, Pontoppidan’s *Forklaring* and Luther’s *Catechisme*. Although there are many areas in which Hauge disagreed with the teaching of the clergy (Aarflot 1969:393), e.g. his objection to the then current debate on the nature of the Trinity, particularly the task of the Holy Spirit (see *Skr. I* 87, 21ff), two main issues stand out. The first of these was Hauge’s desire to see the practical expression of living faith in the life of the believer, and the second, his concern that new ideas about the nature of life after death were leading people to believe that everyone would find themselves in heaven regardless of how they had conducted their temporal affairs.

The ‘*that is this*’ oracle above (Example 6.6) touches on the first of these two main contentions Hauge had with the preaching of his day – the relationship between faith and works: viz. ‘*Lærerne ... siger, at Christus har igienløst os, hans Tienere skal dem da være, men Følgerne tales ikke om*’. Such comments by Hauge are the source of the two century old debate as to whether his preaching was ‘*lovisk*’ (Aarflot 1969:284). What concerns us here are not questions as to Hauge’s understanding of the nature of salvation, but the simple observation that Hauge could not equate the practical demands Jesus made on the life of the believer with what he witnessed in the lifestyle of those who claimed to be ‘*Christi Tienere*’, i.e. the clergy. For Hauge, true repentance had practical consequences in the life of the believer, and he typified these consequences (‘*Følgerne*’, or ‘*Frugter*’) by frequent reference to the demands of the Ten Commandments or ‘the Law’, and it is this connection which resulted in the labelling of his teaching as ‘*lovisk*’. The stress Hauge put on the lack of preaching about the practical consequences of faith is exemplified by the woe oracle from in *BVD-4* shown in Example 6.7 below:

Example 6.7

Woe oracle

Messenger formula

og dertil raaber en Prophet

Accusation (woe form)

Vee! Vee! over dem som siger om det Onde godt at være [Es. 5C. 20V.], hvilket og er Synd imod det ottende Bud.

Accusation

Jeg hører at endeel siger efter Pauli Ord, at Christus er Lovens Ende [Rom. 10C. 4V.]; dette legger dem ud, at han [= den] er ophævet og dem kan ikke holde den, hvorfor dem aldrig lærer paa den heller.

(Skr. I 89, 31-33)

Hauge also took issue with the Rationalistic idea that a moral God could not possibly destroy his own creation, that hell did not therefore exist, and hence all human beings would have an unconditional place in heaven. He expressed this

concern three times in *BVD-4*. Two of these are shown below. In the first instance he refers to the ideas of an unidentified philosopher, possibly Kant (Terry 2004), and again alludes to the clergy's lack of emphasis on the practical aspects of Christian living:

'Jeg læser da hvorledes en fornem Philosoph skriver om Sielenes Tilstand efter Døden, han skriver og at de fiire Deelee af Verden er i den rette Meening om Gud, og den femte ventes efter; alle skal have god Løn, men Arbeidet tales ikke om'

(*Skr.* I 87, 11-15)

In the second instance he makes reference to the apocalyptic passage in 2 Thess. 2 where Paul warns his readers of the powerful delusions which will be propagated by the false teachers who will arise in the last days. Here Hauge's speech has the form of an apocalyptic interpretation oracle (see Example 6.8 below). This form of specific prophetic utterance takes a yet *unfulfilled* apocalyptic prophecy from the Bible, relates this to a person, event or situation in the prophet's present context, and gives a reason as to why this person, event or situation is considered to be the fulfilment of the biblical prophecy:

Example 6.8

Apocalyptic interpretation oracle

Fulfilment

for dem [de falske Propheter / Præster] ... stoler paa at Gud ikke skaber Mennesker til at fordærves, men at dem alle skal blive salige [Joh. 12C., 47 V.].

Legitimation device

Hertil er det som Paulus siger i de 2 Tesaloniker 2 Cap. [11V.],

Apocalyptic sign

at Gud skal sende dem i kraftige Vildfarelser;

Reason

thi hvo som saadant tænker, dem bespotter og gjør Gud og hans Ord til Løgnere

(Skr. I 92, 17-20)

7.2.3c Empty rituals

Besides his criticisms of the content of their preaching, Hauge considered that pride was indicative of the clergy by the way that they portrayed the observance of various religious practices as all that was required by God if an individual was to obtain eternal life:

In *BVD-4*, Hauge mentioned the sacrament of baptism only briefly:

‘... eens eget Arbeide [dvs. Daaben] duer ikke til Saligheds Befordring. Thi somme Skribentere skriver om Christi Befalning at døbe dem i Faderens, Sønnens og den Hellig Aands Navn ...’

(Skr. I 87, 19)

His criticism is directed at those who depended purely on the outer ceremony of baptism (*‘eens eget Arbeide’*) rather than living the practical aspects of their lives in the light of the inner spiritual transformation baptism represented (see also *Skr. III 450, 6ff*, Aarflot 1969:399).

Hauge had the same opinion of people who regularly attended the Eucharist and observed daily devotional routines at home, but otherwise failed to allow their faith to have a positive effect on their lifestyle: *‘Disse dyrebare Naade-Midler bliver af Mund-Christne skammelig misbrugte’* (*Skr. II 78, 22*). The excerpt from *BVD-4* below is part of an announcement of judgement (*Skr. I 91, 8-31*) in which Hauge uses one of Jesus’ apocalyptic parables to liken these *‘Mund-Christne’* to those who are left knocking on the door once the owner of the house has closed it for the night (Lk. 13:25):

‘en trøster sig da at en har annammet det hellige Legem og Blod i Sakramentet, og at en har gaaet til Kirken og læst hiemme. Denne bogstavelige Kundskab og Selvtrøst vil en da komme til Gud med, thi de faa ingen Trøst af den Hellig Aand, thi han sætter de dievelske Redskaber ude; derfor heder det, at Gud vil svare: Viger fra mig alle som øve sig i Uretfærdighed [Lk. 13C., 25-37V.].’

(Skr. I 93, 23-29)

c.f. the following comment from GV-4:

‘Det fierte Afguderie er Gudstienesten ... de onde Mennesker bruger de udvortes Ceremonier med Gudstienesten, hvilket er mere Synd end om dem ikke gjorde det’

(Skr. I 191, 4-6)

Hauge’s criticisms in GV-4 make the two types of Opponent in the implicit narrative of his prophetic speech clear: these are the unbeliever in general (*‘de onde Mennesker’*) and the clergy in particular (*‘Satans Tienere’*). The passage in which they are mentioned is best understood in the light of Hauge’s apocalyptic worldview:

*‘Han [Gud] sætter **de onde Mennesker** og **Satans Tienere** ude og siger at han kiender dem ikke, derpaa saa vil en trøste sig selv med at en har annammet Sakramentet, gaaet i Kirken og læst den bogstavelige Kundskab, som er at æde og drikke og Lærdommen paa Gaderne, al denne Selvtrøst vil en da have det evige Liv for; men hvad skeer til Svar paa saadan elendig Trøst? Viger fra mig alle som øver sig i Uretfærdighed, det er: de har ikke villet tient mig før nu, da skal de heller ingen Deel have i mig, men vige til Dievelen i den evige Ild, det siger Christus videre [28 og 29 Vers]: der skal være Graad og Tænders Gnidsel, naar som I faae see Abraham, Isach, Jacob og alle Propheter i Guds Rige, men eder at være udstødt, og de andre skulde komme fra Øster og Vester, Nord og Søer og sidde til Bords i Guds Rige’*

(Skr. I 198, 5-18)

7.3 Apocalyptic overtones

Hauge intensifies the effect of the controlling narrative of his criticising prophetic speech by re-casting the characters with those from the depiction of the events that will occur after the blowing of the fifth trumpet (Rev. 9:1-12) – an event which Hauge believed represented the age in which he was living, but which was coming to a close:

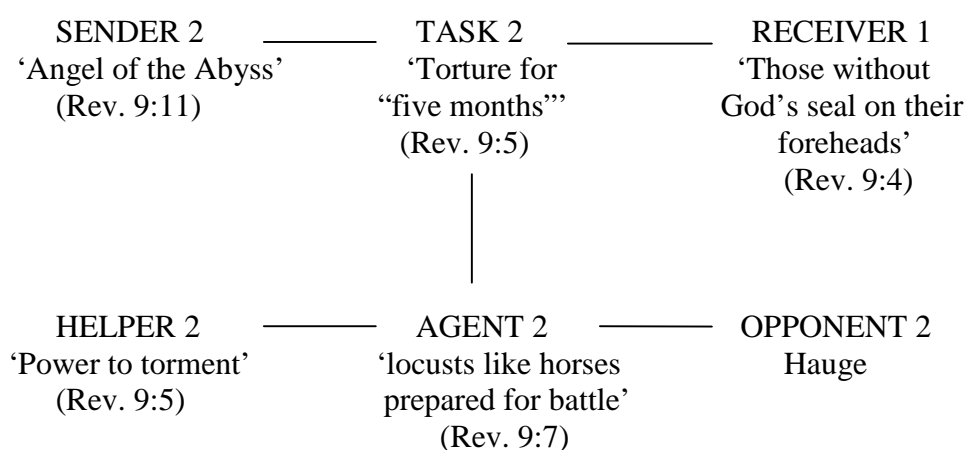


Figure 6.10: The apocalyptic version of the controlling narrative of Hauge's criticising prophetic speech

The clergy are now no longer wolves, but the locusts which appear from the Abyss in a cloud of smoke after the sounding of the fifth trumpet. These locusts were told not to harm the grass, plants and trees, but only those people who did not have the seal of God on their foreheads, and they were to torture these people for 'five months' with pain like that of a scorpion sting. The representation of the clergy as 'the locusts from the Abyss' first appears in *BVD-4* where it is in the form of a short 'apocalyptic interpretation oracle' (see Example 6.9 below).

Example 6.9

Apocalyptic interpretation oracle

Messenger device
Jeg erfarer og veed,

Prophetic sign

at de Græshopper[e] der stikker som Skorpioner og haver Guld kroner paa sine Hoveder, og Ansigt er som Menneskers Ansigt i Aabenbaringens 9de Cap.,

Fulfilment

det er hykkelske og falske Lærere, som ikke skal skade Trærne eller noget Grønt, men Menneskene,

Reason (observation from prophet's own context)

hvilke har saadan Magt nu, saa det er forskrækkeligt

(Skr. I 88, 1-8)

A fuller version of this oracle is found in *GV-4*, where Hauge interprets the various aspects of the description of the grasshoppers in order to prove to his reader that the clergy are the fulfilment of this prophecy. He gives added weight to these proofs by quoting two NT prophecies that predict false prophets will arise in Last Days (2 Tim. 3:1-9 and 2 Pet. 2:1-3):

Example 6.10

Apocalyptic interpretation oracle

Fulfilment

Dem [Lærerne] ere

Prophetic sign

de Græshopper som udkom af Røgen der opgik af Afgrunden og formørkede Solen, eller Guds Ords sande Lys i det 9 Capitel,

Prophetic sign

og Græshoppernes Lignelser vare ligesom Heste der ere beredde til Strid,

Fulfilment

det er: Store og Vældige, [slik som Lærerne]

Prophetic sign

og paa deres Hoveder vare Kroner ligesom Guld og deres Ansigter var som Menneskers Ansigt,

Fulfilment

det er: at paa Hovedet har dem sin prægtige Mondur, [slik som Lærerne bruker]

Prophetic sign

og deres Haar var som Qvinders Haar,

Fulfilment

det er: en rask talende sød Tunge, som Qvinderne mest have, [slik som Lærerne taler]

Proof

saa kan og disse ved deres Øvelser tale sødt og vel, eftersom Ørene kløer siger Paulus.

Prophetic sign

Men deres Tænder var som Løvers;

Fulfilment

det er: at naar dem [Lærerne] ikke faar det som dem vil [dvs Penger og Gods], da bliver dem vrede, river som Løver og skiender en over,

Fulfilment

og de [Lærerne] er

Prophetic sign

den Drage og hans Engel som vil stride imod Michael og hans Engel i det 12 Cap.,

Fulfilment

som er, at disse onde Mennesker og Lærere vil staae de Gode imod,

Prophetic sign

og de er det Paulus siger i det 2 Tim. 3 Cap: at der skal være i de sidste Tider Mennesker som holde af sig selv, gierrige, stortalende, overdaadige, Bespottere, Forældre ulydige, utaknemmelige, uhellige, ukierlige, uforligelige Skiendere, fremfusende, opblæste, som mere elske Vellyst end Gud, som haver Gudfrygtigheds Skin, men nægter dens Kraft, som ere besværede med Synder, der drives af adskillige Begierligheder, som lære altid og kunde aldrig komme til Sandheds Bekiendelse; men ligesom Jonas og Jambres imodstod Moses, ligesaa imodstaa og disse Sandheden, som duer intet i Troen; men de skulle ikke faa Fremgang mere, thi deres Daarlighed skal blive aabenbar for alle, ligesom og hines blev;

dette er mit Ønske, at maatte snart skee [dvs at deres Daarlighed skal blive aabenbar for alle]

Prophetic sign

Saadan er og Apostelen Peder i sin 2 Ep. 2 Cap., hvor han siger: der skal opstaae falske Lærere, som skulde føre over dem en hastig Fordærvelse, formedelst Sandhedens Vey skal bespottes, og de skulle handle med eder, formedelst Gierrighed, med optænkte Ord, fra hvilket Dommen, skal ikke længe tøve, og deres Fordærvelse slumrer ikke; men de [er] som ufornuftige Dyr, efter Naturen, i det de tale bespotteligen om de Ting de intet vide af, saa de skulle bære Uretfærdiges Løn derfor; de som have Øyne fulde af Horerie, som ikke lade af at synde, som lokke til sig de ustadige Siele, have et Hierte som er drevet af Gierrighed, er Forbandelsens Barn som forlade den rette Vey og gaae vild, disse ere vandløse Kilder, thi i det de tale stolte Ord, som intet er hos, da lokke de dem formedelst Kiødsens Begieringer i Uteerligheder og vandrer i Vildfarelse i det de lover dem Frihed alligevel de er selv Forskrækkelsens Tienere.

(Skr. I 188, 3 – Skr. I 189, 10, see also Skr. I 227, 17-26)

Hauge saw a parallel between the clergy and the locusts at many levels: in their appearance, particularly their use of wigs (Rev. 9:7a); in the deceptive manner in which they spoke (Rev.9:7b); in their desire for power (Rev. 9:10); in their desire to consume material things (Rev. 9:8b, c.f. Ez. 22:26-27 / Skr. II 71, 16ff); in their clouding of the true interpretation of God's Word with false teaching as depicted by the 'smoke from the Abyss' (Rev. 9:2); and in their servitude to the devil, here named as 'Abaddon', or the 'Destroyer' (Rev. 9:11).

8. From story to symbol

The intention behind this examination of the narrative structure of Hauge's criticising prophetic speech was to use any regular features or themes which emerged to identify the symbols addressed by the criticising aspect of his prophetic speech. This approach was profitable in that it identified the controlling narrative of Hauge's criticising speech as a variant of the Good Shepherd narrative expressed in the proverb '*Hyrdene skal vise Faarene Vejen*'.

The impact of the plot of Hauge's criticising prophetic speech is found in just this variation: his listeners would have been familiar with the biblical story of the Good Shepherd and naturally understood that the clergy should play the role

of the 'good shepherd' in every day religious life. Hauge, however, re-told this story in such a way as to cast the Opponent from the main plot – the wolf – in the role of the Agent. The shepherd was now absent and the wolf (Agent 2) was directing the sheep onto the road to destruction. The story presented by Hauge's criticising prophetic speech thus suggests a counter-plot which he depicts as a demonic counterfeit of the main plot evoked by the story of the Good Shepherd.

The use of the metaphor 'wolves in sheep's clothing' would have signalled to Hauge's listeners that all was not well with those who had responsibility for the cure of their souls. However, leaving the comparison at this level might not have had the impact Hauge desired: the depiction of clergy as wolves in sheep's clothing is nothing new in the history of the church (Kullerud 1996:60). Hauge's apocalyptic representation of the counter-plot resolves this problem. Depicting the clergy as 'the locusts from the Abyss' is innovative - it acts to intensify the negative characterisation of Agent 2 and to emphasise the temporal and eternal danger which faced the Receiver.

Language that used such extreme metaphors or analogies, especially in the context of apocalyptic prophecy, played on the '*prestehat*' (extreme dislike of the clergy) which was already present in many local communities. It had the effect of causing the authority of the clergy to be questioned, which in turn *undermined the key symbolic value of their role as representatives of the Church.*

The role Hauge's criticising prophetic speech had in undermining the symbolic role of the priest was heightened not only by his use of metaphor to describe their person and characteristics, but also by the continual emphasis put on the clergy's surrender to temptation in the areas of materialism (*Gierrighed*), sensual pleasure (*Vellyst*), and particularly the desire for influence in both the temporal and spiritual realms (*Hofmodighed*). Hauge's repetitive use of these themes in his criticising prophetic speech serves to indicate further religious symbols which that speech addressed. This is particularly apparent in Hauge's critique of the clergy's '*Hofmodighed*' in which he draws attention to the apparent futility

of symbolic religious practices such as Sabbath observance, baptism, the Eucharist, confession and personal ‘husandakt’:

‘... der er en Gud til og at det [jeg har skrevet] er hans Ord. Men troer de ikke dette, kan de lade være baade at læse og gaae til Alters, thi dermed er han mere god’

(Skr. I 80, 4-6)

‘de som ikke vil troe den hellige Skrift, dem formaner jeg, at de ikke læser eller gaaer til Kirken og annammer det hellige Sakramente, thi der med bespotter en Gud’

(Skr. I 104, 14-16, see also Skr. I 197, 18-21)

At this point it is necessary to make clear that Hauge did not wish to reject the practice of the key symbolic religious rituals of his own religious culture (Wright 2001:385), although this could be inferred by a superficial reading of statements such as the two shown above. The key to understanding Hauge’s critique is his stipulation that these religious rituals were of no spiritual efficacy if those who partook ‘*ikke vil troe den hellige Skrift*’, i.e. for those did not see or act upon the demand for repentance and holy living which Hauge clearly saw in God’s Word.

The ultimate effect of Hauge’s criticising prophetic speech was thus to disinvest the clergy of authority, and in so doing, to strip the symbolic rituals over which they presided of any spiritual worth for those who followed the example set by the clergy’s daily life:

‘Endeel vil og have Ære og Reverentzer af sine Tilhørere, og desuden gaaer dem føre med Exempel, at naar dem kommer af Kirken, saa gaaer dem i Spil og Vellystigheder. Jeg undres paa om dem veed nogen Gienvey til Himmerig?’

(Skr. I 84, 28 - Skr. I 85, 1)

Hauge's rhetorical question, '*Jeg undres paa om dem veed nogen Gienvey til Himmerig?*', brings us back to the main plot presented by the story of the Good Shepherd in Jn. 10 (*Skr.* I 87, 10). Not only are the shepherds absent, but the '*Gienvey til Himmerig*' offered by '*Ulvene i Faareklæder*' is an unviable alternative. Hauge's criticising speech thus presented listeners with a view of their situation in which there was now an obvious 'symbol gap' which needed to be filled both in terms of 'practice' and in terms of 'personnel' (Brueggemann 2001:43).

9. Summary and Conclusions

The intention of this chapter was to move from an examination of the various forms of Hauge's prophetic speech to the identification of the symbols fundamental to the action of his prophetic imagination. As Brueggemann's use of the term 'symbol' appeared to be limited to the analysis of prophetic speech in an OT context, Wright's worldview schema was used to supplement this aspect of prophetic imagination so that Brueggemann's paradigm could be applied effectively in more contemporary contexts. Rather than describing prophetic speech as dependent only on the reactivation of dormant symbols from culture's historical past, Wright describes prophetic speech as evoking, generating or transforming symbols that may already be active in the culture's present.

Wright's worldview schema also provides a means of presenting an integrated description of the prophet's beliefs, aims, intentions, words and actions. When this schema was used to plot Hauge's worldview, it became obvious that Hauge could be considered as being more highly motivated by his apocalyptic insights than has previously been acknowledged. Hauge's was an apocalyptic worldview stemming from his basic belief that he was living on the verge of an age in which the Christian faith would know unprecedented advancement and in which its followers would experience increased persecution in the face of the imminent arrival of Judgement Day. This worldview acts as a backdrop to Hauge's prophetic speech and his actions, and provides fresh insight into his universe of thought.

In the light of Wright's investigation into the eschatological motivation behind the prophetic ministry of Jesus, an analysis of the implicit narrative of Hauge's worldview shows that Hauge had cast himself as the hero in a quest with a specific task to undertake, set against an End Time backdrop. An examination of one of Hauge's earliest written prophetic statements indicates that this task consisted of bringing a message of warning and welcome: the dual facet of which reflects the criticising and energising nature of his prophetic imagination.

The implicit narrative of Hauge's prophetic praxis and prophetic speech is reflected in the explicit narratives of the specific prophetic utterances in his early texts. An inspection of *BVD-4* and *GV-4* indicated that the implicit story of his message, as demonstrated by his use of the proverb '*Hyrdene skal vise Faarene Vejen*', reflected that of the story of the Good Shepherd (Jn. 10). A close look at the criticising forms of Hauge's prophetic speech indicated that these were controlled by a counter-plot to this story, which Hauge depicted to be a 'demonic' counterfeit of the main plot. In the counter-plot, the clergy are the Agent sent by their father the devil to destroy the sheep.

The contrast between the expected characterisation in the main plot and the unexpected characterisation in counter-plot provides some of the 'shock value', or rhetorical effect, in Hauge's criticising prophetic speech. However, as the idea of clergy being wolves in sheep's clothing is nothing new, Hauge's re-casting of the actants in the counter-plot as characters from a biblical apocalyptic scene provides an innovative sense of drama intended to make his listeners sit up and take notice. It is difficult to say whether Hauge would have been aware of the satirical potential in his parodying of the story of the Good Shepherd, but the undeniable effect of this tactic was to undermine one of the key symbols, if not the key symbol, of the official church of his time – the parish priest and all he stood for.

Much of Hauge's criticising prophetic speech drew on the suspicion of the parish priest that already simmered just below the surface of the peasants' consciousness. Hauge's depiction of their lifestyle in terms of '*Gjerrighed*', '*Vellyst*' and '*Hofmodighed*' may have been justified in the case of some of the

local priests with whom he had come in contact (Kullerud 1996:69, Thrapp 1910:193-206), but it can also be considered to be representative of a gross misunderstanding of the worldview with which the majority of these men operated (Amundsen 1999, Elstad 2003). Nevertheless, in combination with his characterisation of the clergy as wolves in sheep's clothing and consuming locusts, Hauge's exaggerated descriptions of the vices of the clergy would have made a considerable contribution to undermining both their symbolic role and their religious and moral authority. Hauge's criticising speech held the clergy responsible for the proliferation of the same vices in their parishioners; and this resulted in his attack on the empty practice of symbolic religious rituals by both the overseers and the partakers. Although Hauge did not advocate the abolition of these rituals, to question their validity was a serious matter.

Hauge's prophetic speech undermined the symbolic value of the 'personnel' and 'practice' of the official religion, but his prophetic praxis also undermined the symbolism of the 'place' of the official religion. Furre has pointed out that the seating arrangements inside the church building during services reflected the hierarchy upon which the social system of the time was constructed (1999:87). Hauge's '*oppbyggelsesmøter*' took place outside the church building - on the grass in the churchyard or in people's homes. These meetings not only abandoned the physical structure of the church, but also sacrificed the hierarchical seating plan – people who usually sat apart by reason of social standing or gender now found themselves seated next to one another.

The challenge Hauge's criticising prophetic speech posed to the symbolic value of the 'personnel', 'practices' and 'place' of the official religion effectively created a symbol gap in the minds of his listeners. Prophetic criticism is however only one part of the action of prophetic imagination. In the chapter that follows, the narrative structure of Hauge's energising prophetic speech is analysed with the intention of elucidating the symbols at its heart and determining how they act in relation to the symbols dismantled by his prophetic criticism to fill the symbol gap and create a new reality.

Chapter 7: Prophetic energising and a clash of symbols

1. Introduction

In the last chapter we looked at the explicit stories told by Hauge's specific prophetic utterances, elucidated by a structural analysis of the implicit narrative of his prophetic speech. A story possessing a counter-plot to the main plot of the controlling narrative of Hauge's prophetic speech was found to act specifically as the controlling narrative of his prophetic criticism. A close examination of Hauge's criticising speech indicated that the clergy were the key symbol that was undermined, although his criticism also extended to the attitudes to symbolic religious rituals held by both the clergy and the laity. Hauge's criticising prophetic speech was found to devalue the validity of the 'personnel', 'practices' and 'place' of the official religion, creating a 'symbol gap' in the minds of his listeners. This chapter takes another look at the narrative structure of Hauge's prophetic speech to show how the energising strand of his prophetic imagination redressed this symbol gap by welcoming his listeners into an alternative reality, challenging them to alternative praxis, and summoning them to an alternative status and consequent task. Filling the symbol gap inevitably implies the transformation of old symbols and the generation and evocation of new ones. Hauge's energising prophetic speech achieved all three actions, producing an alternative set of worldview symbols which clashed with those of the dominant consciousness.

2. A change of heart – 'welcome'

Hauge's criticising prophetic speech attacked religious symbolic practice because he understood empty external ritual to be a consequence of the internal state of the human heart. For Hauge, transforming hollow religious practice to something with authoritative meaning was fundamentally a matter of an individual experiencing a change of heart, or '*et forandret Sind*' (Skr. I 243, 29). Hauge based this understanding not only on his reading of the Bible, but also on

his own experience; he himself had experienced ‘spirituality’ based on ritual rather than a transformed inner reality:

*‘Jeg gik til Kirken og hørte Guds Ord, læste hiemme og holdt mig til Gud med Munden og Læbene, men **Hiertet var ikke med.**’*

(Skr. I 111, 7-9)

Looking at the implicit narrative of Hauge’s prophetic message, the ‘change of heart’ which makes religious praxis effective occurs along the axis of commission and forms the energising thread in the initial sequence. This action is opposed by ‘*Dievelens listige og løgnagtige Indbildning*’ (Skr. I 129, 4-6) (see Chapter 6, section 6.1):

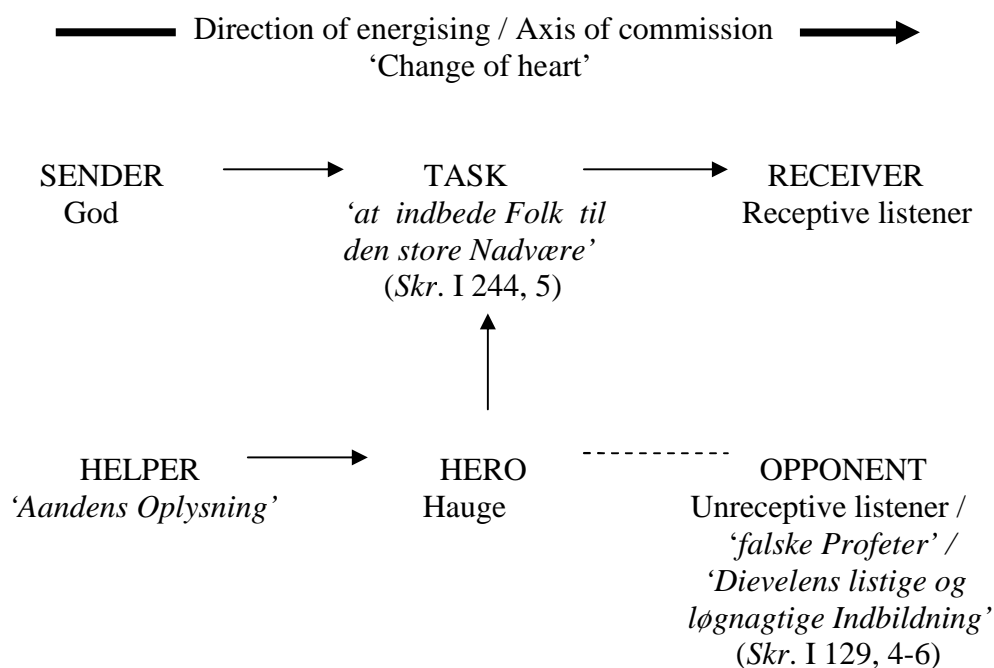


Figure 7.1 The initial sequence of the implicit narrative of Hauge’s prophetic speech

The energising thread of the initial sequence of Hauge’s prophetic speech corresponds to the message of ‘welcome’ in his basic prophetic announcement

of ‘warning’ (prophetic criticism) and ‘welcome’ (prophetic energising) (c.f. Wright 2001:244). The welcome itself consists of two parts – Stage A: the call to *repent*, and Stage B: the call to *believe*. The ‘warning’ of prophetic criticism and the both of the stages of the ‘welcome’ of prophetic energising are apparent in Hauge’s basic prophetic announcement from *BVD-3* shown below (*Skr. I* 86, 19-25, c.f. Chapter 6, Section 6.1):

The kingdom of God / end of the world is at hand:

‘Warning’: Criticising prophetic speech and apocalyptic scene setting:

‘jeg vidner da frit for alle, at han staaer med sit Sverd og vil slaae til med sin langmodige Retfærdighed.

Repent:

‘Welcome’: Energising - Stage A

Jeg beder da enhver at de vil nedfalde i Ydmyghed for Gud og omvende sig af ganske Hierte og bekiende sine Synder med Smerter og aflade dem,

and believe the gospel:

‘Welcome’: Energising - Stage B

saa er Gud meget rund til at forlade for sin kiere Son Jesu Christi Skyld og formindske Straffen baade timelig og evig. Amen.’

(*Skr. I* 86, 19-25)

2.1 ‘Repent’

Hauge’s exhortation to his listeners to ‘repent’ bears no relation to the traditional Lutheran understanding of the appropriation of salvation by the individual. In agreement with my observation that Hauge’s basic prophetic message has its origin in that of Jesus (Matt. 4:17), Aarflot has concluded that *‘vi leter forgjeves etter en konsekvent tillrettelagt ‘ordo salutis-lære’¹ [i Hauge], men med utgangspunkt i Jesu første prekentema: “Omvender eder; thi Himmeriges Rige*

¹ The steps of ‘ordo salutis’ are generally understood to be: *vocatio, illuminatio, conversio, poenitentia, fides, justificatio, regeneratio, unio mystica, sanctificatio* (Aarflot 1969:309). A more recent discussion of the presence of these steps in Hauge’s teaching is discussed by Kummemeje (1993).

er Nær”, *taler Hauge hvordan den sanne omvendelse arter seg*’ (Aarflot 1969:309 and p.314). Hauge’s main exposition of Jesus’ basic prophetic statement ‘*Omvender eder; thi Himmeriges Rige er Nær*’ is found in GV-5, which is entitled ‘*Om Omvendelsen og hvorledes den bør skee*’. However, despite ‘a change of heart’ being the energising intention of the initial sequence in the implicit narrative of Hauge’s prophetic speech, GV-5 contains only one energising form of specific prophetic speech – a prescriptive oracle – the remaining four are all admonitions, which are criticising in nature.

Interestingly however, all four Admonitions in GV-5 are Hauge’s appropriation of variations on Jesus’ basic prophetic statement and all have more of a positive exhortatory or energising character than a negative criticising character. This indicates that this exhortatory type of Admonition may have a special function in prophetic imagination, forming a link in the progression from the purely criticising forms of prophetic speech characteristic of prophetic criticising on the one hand and the purely positive forms of prophetic speech characteristic of prophetic energising on the other.

The positive exhortatory nature of the Admonitions in GV-5 is demonstrated by the three Admonitions which begin the text. In the first Admonition, the element of speech providing the ‘reason’ is a promise which is energising in nature. The second Admonition is more negative in character in that the ‘reason’ emphasises the consequences of non-compliance. The third Admonition appropriates Jesus’ basic prophetic announcement, which Hauge amplifies in his own words to stress the need for both repentance (*Omvendelse*) and belief (*en levende Tro*):

Title

*Det femte Capitel.
Om Omvendelsen og hvorledes den bør skee.*

Opening prayer / exhortation

Admonition 1

Messenger formula

Herren siger hos Propheten Joel 2 Cap. 12 Og 13 Vers:

Admonition (REPENT)

Vender om til mig af ganske Hierte med Faste, Graad og Hysten, sønderriver eders Hierter og ikke eders Klæder og vender om til Herren eders Gud,

Reason (promise) (BELIEVE)

thi han er naadig, barmhiertig, langmodig, af stor Miskundhed og forlader det Onde;

Messenger formula

saaledes taler Gud ved sin Aand

Addressee

til alle ubodfærdige Mennesker;

(Skr. I 199, 26-31)

Admonition 2

Reason

Enhver som ikke føler sin Syndenød og egen Afmagt i sin Aand, at han er uduelig af sig selv og ikke tørster efter Retfærdighed, han er ubodfærdig og paa den brede Vey til Pinen, hvorfor han behøver Omvendelse,

Messenger formula

og da befaler vor rette Veyviser den Herre Jesus

Admonition (REPENT)

at en skal legge Vind paa at komme igiennem den snevre Port og gjøre Vold paa Himmeriges Rige, hvilken Vind og Vold vi vil med hinanden overveye,

Messenger formula

hvortil Gud lede os med sin Aands og Ords Lys!

Legitimation formula

Amen.

(Skr. I 199, 32 – Skr. I 200, 8)

Main text

Admonition 3

Messenger device

Den Herre Jesus begyndte at prædike:

Admonition (REPENT)

Omvender eder,

Reason (SCENE SETTING)

thi Himmeriges Rige er nær;

Amplification (REPENT and BELIEVE)

det er:

*naar vi gjør **en sand Omvendelse**, da har vi den himmelske Glæde i vor Aand ved **den levende Troe**; ...*

(Skr. I 200, 9-12)

The remainder of GV-5 demonstrates how Hauge persuades his listeners to be ‘energised’ by the change of heart which results from true repentance and living faith (belief). If GV-5 is read in the light of Hauge’s apocalyptic worldview, particular emphases which reflect the presuppositions of apocalyptic rhetoric are reflected in his understanding of what constitutes ‘*en sand Omvendelse*’ and ‘*en levende Tro*’.

Firstly, Hauge’s appeal to the listener to repent and believe accents the terrors of hell and damnation which await the unrepentant:

‘enhver [ma] betænke da først den store Straf de uomvendte faaer i Helvede’

(Skr. I 200, 16)

‘det er ikke tungt at tiene Gud naar en er igienfødt ... men det skeer ikke før en faaer see at en haver fortient Helvedes Pine’

(Skr. I 203, 11)

‘vi ... har været Satans Tienere og efterfulgt hans Tieneres Løgnagtige Befalinger, saa ligger vi da nu under hans Herredømme og skal med ham have Løn, som vi ikke kan undgaae’

(Skr I. 206, 15-18)

This strategy not only countered the Rationalistic preaching of Hauge's time which emphasised a moral God who would not damn anyone to a hell that purportedly did not exist, but it is also a reflection of the stark separation between good and evil presupposed by apocalyptic thought. The verbal expression of this presupposition has the subconscious intention of frightening the listener into a response by depicting the terrible consequences of refusing the invitation.

Secondly, and consistent with the emphasis of apocalyptic rhetoric on the promise of rewards for the faithful, Hauge asks the reader to compare the unavoidable consequences of being one of '*Satans Tienere*' with the preferable reward awaiting those who accept the invitation: '*den Krone der er henlagt til det evige Liv og himmelske Herlighed*' (Skr. I 200, 20).

Hauge then advises the reader that if they want to gain this reward, they need to '*stride, thi uden Strid bliver ingen Seyer, og uden Seyer ingen Belønning*' (Skr. I 200, 22). Rather than indicating a 'works' based theology of salvation with which so many commentators have characterised Hauge's teaching, this statement reflects a third presupposition of apocalyptic rhetoric - that a believer is part of the cosmic spiritual-battle which is being played out, not only in the spiritual realms, but in the heart of every human being.

At this point, Hauge's rhetoric draws on the controlling narrative of his criticising prophetic speech (see Chapter 6, Figure 6.9) in that he encourages the potential receptive Receiver to fight against '*Dievelens listige og løgnagtige Indbildning*' (Skr. I 129, 4-6):

'... hvad vi haver at stride med, da er her tre Onde Lyster, først vort eget Kiød og fordervede Natur ... Øyenslyst, Kiødslyst og et afgudisk, hoffærdigt eller overdaadigt Levnet'

(Skr. I 200, 23-28)

The fight against '*Øyenslyst, Kiødslyst og et afgudisk, hoffærdigt eller overdaadigt Levnet*' is subsequently presented as the cultivation of '*et*

sønderrevet eller sønderknuset (sic) Hierte’ (Skr. I 201,10), because ‘*ingen kan troe paa ham af inderste Hierte uden en angergiven Aand over sine Synder og Afskye til det Onde*’ (Skr. I 201, 20). Here Hauge emphasises the pointlessness of individuals who do not possess ‘*en sønderknuset Aand eller Sorg for sine Synder*’ (Skr. I 201,14) partaking in symbolic religious praxis, stating that:

‘om saadanne læste Nat og Dag, sang og bad, da var det altsammen forgieves og er for Gud Uret, thi der kommer ingen til Faderen uden ved mig siger Christus, og for saadanne Selvgode er al Jesu Fortieneste forgieves’

(Skr. I 201, 16-20)

Having presented the reader with the hopelessness of their situation, Hauge now offers the solution in the form of a two step formula for true repentance in which human initiative and the Holy Spirit both play an active role:

‘thi alle uomvendte og aandelig blinde Mennesker maae saaledes bære sig ad:

først maae de bede Gud i al oprigtig Ydmyghed med Jeremias: Gud! borttag det haarde Steen-Hierte og giv mig et blødt Kiød-Hierte, og saa videre, omvend du mig o Herre! saa bliver jeg omvendt; hielp du mig, saa bliver jeg hjulpen; frels du mig! saa bliver jeg frelst, thi du er min Rose; saaledes bad han da han var afviget fra Gud, og saaledes maae ethvert Menneske gjøre.

Nu det andet: saa maae de bede om den Hellig Aand eller Talsmanden, som Jesus siger hos Johannes 16de, at han skal sende fra Faderen og han skal straffe Verden for Synd, for Retfærdighed og for Dom; for Synd, at de ikke troe paa mig, det er: at ingen kan troe paa Christus, elske ham og efterfølge hans Fodspor, uden en seer at han har gjort dem noget godt, og derfor maae en bede saa inderlig om den Hellig Aand’

(Skr. I 203, 14-28; see also Skr. I 103, 22-29)

Hauge’s final appeal to the reader also depicts the role of both the individual and the Spirit, but emphasises a right attitude in the heart rather than false trust in the

empty repetition of words (e.g. the Confession, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer):

*'Vil du da o Menneske have det evige Liv, saa bliv ved i Bønnen indtil du faaer see din egen Elendighed at du er fortabt og fordømt til den evige Død, som vi alle haver fortient, **og det skal ikke siges med Ord, men føles i Hiertet**; og dette er den Hellig[e] Aands Kald og Oplysning, at en er beængstet over sine Synder og finder Afskye til det Onde; dette er den sande Omvendelse'*

(Skr. I 204, 11-17)

2.2 'Believe'

Repentance is only the first stage of the initial sequence of Hauge's energising prophetic speech which intends '*et forandret Sind*'; the second stage is 'belief':

'det andet Jesu Ord følger: Troe Evangelium'

(Skr. I 204, 17)

Hauge presents 'true repentance' and 'living faith' as a matter of the heart - the one proceeding from the other:

'ingen kan troe paa ham af inderste Hierte uden en angergiven Aand over sine Synder og Afskye til det Onde.'

(Skr. I 201, 20-21)

Only when the individual has experienced both true repentance and living faith is the symbol gap of empty religious praxis fully redressed: the renewed heart is able to partake in symbolic religious praxis in an acceptable 'spiritual' manner:²

*'denne Troe maae føles med en levende Kierlighed i Hiertet til Frelseren, at de aandelig æder og drikker hans Legem og Blod, hos Johannes 6 Capitel, saa at den Hellig Aand forkynder os Syndernes Forladelse og Helliggiørelse, som da vidner med vor Aand **at vi ere Guds Børn** [= **heller enn Dievelens Børn**], siger Paulus, og da er*

² See also *Skr. II 61, 22- Skr. II 62, 10 – 15 (EL – Evangelium)*, where Hauge elaborates the new reality of the rituals of Baptism and the Eucharist for those who have '*iført det nye*' using imagery from Rev. 22:1.

Verdens Fyrste dømt, som er Dievelen, der har ingen Deel i dem, thi de dræber al hans Magt ved Aandens Kraft.'

(Skr. I 204, 26-32)

The welcome offered by the energising thread of the initial sequence of Hauge's prophetic narrative thus reinstates the efficacy of official religious practices for those who accept the invitation. The welcome also generates a new symbol fundamental to the energising function of Hauge's prophetic speech: 'the contrite heart' which David begged of God in Psalm 51:10. It is important to understand Hauge's use of the phrase 'the contrite heart' in its original biblical context: David promises God that as a result of being given such a heart he will 'teach transgressors your (God's) ways' with the result that 'sinners will turn back to you (God)' (Ps. 51:13, see *Skr. I* 122, 17-24, and *Skr. I* 228, 6 - 14). This is essentially the same task to which Hauge believed he had been commissioned by God having received a contrite heart himself on 5 April 1796, and this was also the task to which Hauge summoned the receptive Receiver once they too had received a contrite heart and accepted the challenge of altered praxis (see Section 3 below).

3. A change of praxis – 'challenge'

The listener who accepted Hauge's offer of welcome and made '*en sand Omvendelse*' can be considered as having cast themselves as the Receiver in the implicit narrative of Hauge's prophetic speech and as having subconsciously realigned the various elements of their worldview with his apocalyptic one. In such a context, the Receiver is no longer considered to be one of '*Dievelens Tienere*' but one of '*Guds Børn*', and is now a member of a community 'linked inescapably with eschatology rather than with an ahistorical or individualist piety' (Wright 2001:249). This kind of perception not only permits the newly generated symbol of the contrite heart to form the ideological basis of praxis in the religious arena, i.e. '*at en skal elske Gud af ganske Hierte, Siel og Sind ...*', but gives rise to a challenge in relation to secular matters, i.e. '*[at en skal elske] sin Næste som sig selv, ja sin Fiende skal en elske*' (*Skr. I* 202, 13-14) (Wright 2001:245). In *GV-5* Hauge expresses this challenge as follows:

*‘ [Jesus] siger foran i det 14 Cap: **Dersom nogen kommer til mig og hader ikke sin Fader, Moder, Hustrue, Børn, Brødre, Søstre, og dertil med sit eget Liv, han kan ikke være min Discipel, og hvo som ikke bærer sit Kors og kommer bag efter mig, han kan ikke være min Discipel ... og Meeningen er, at en ingen Kierlighed skal have til nogen Ting i dette Liv, og om det gielder Guds Ære eller hans Villies Bekiendelse, som han siger hos Matth. 10, 11 Cap, saa skal en ikke frygte for sit eget Liv eller dem som slaar Legemet ihjel, men kan ikke ihjelslaae Sielen, men frygter for Dievelen eller onde Mennesker, som kan forderve med deres falske Indbildning baade Siel og Legeme tillige i Helvede**’*

(Skr. I 202, 14-27, see also Skr. I 205, 33 - Skr. I 206, 2)

The above exhortation does three things.

First of all it challenges the Receiver to make visible representation of the invisible transformation that has occurred in their heart. A contrite heart may be a powerful symbol, but Hauge considered that it was only evidenced in the form of alternative praxis. The Receiver was thus challenged to cultivate an alternative attitude to relationships and possessions to the one they had observed and emulated from the example of the clergy and those around them. Hauge often expressed this in terms of Jesus’ imagery of a good tree bearing good fruit, e.g. ‘vise **Omvendelsens** værdige Frugter’ (Skr. I 124, 5), and ‘de der har **den levende Troe** gjør uafsladelig gode Gierninger, thi et godt Træe bær god Frugt’ (Skr. I 233, 31-32).

Secondly, the above exhortation puts forward a fundamental reason for altered attitude and praxis in the Receiver as the combined necessity of upholding ‘Guds Ære’ and effecting ‘Guds ... Villies Bekiendelse’ (Skr. I 202, 22). This attitude can be seen as a reflection of the apocalyptic urgency at the heart of Hauge’s prophetic speech. If the End was imminent, then there was an urgent need to mobilise resources, whether those resources be material possessions or human lives, in order to advance the gospel while time remained. It is difficult to envisage Hauge being able to encourage anyone to change their attitudes and actions just for the sake of it - extreme change of praxis in the face of entrenched tradition demands an extreme source of motivation such as that provided by

apocalyptic belief. This kind of apocalyptic motivation can be read in the following extract from GV-5 where Hauge talks about using material possessions for 'Næstens Gavn' – a term which he used to describe advancing the gospel as well as physical charity – so that the giver can receive a reward 'naar dette Tidsrum er til Ende':

'Naar vi saaledes har forsaget det ugudelige Væsen og verdslige Lyster og deri ingen Fornøyelse har, men alt Haab og Længsel efter det aandelige, saa vi er her som en Huusholder over det Timelige, og bruger det til vort og Næstens Gavn, der venter Løn af Naade, naar dette Tidsrum er til Ende'

(Skr. I 204, 33- Skr. I 205, 2)

c.f.

'bære hans Byrde med at fornægte sig selv og alt det de haver, ja sit eget Liv, Luc. 14 C. 26 V., naar det gielder til Guds Æres Udbredelse og vor Næstes Salighed'

(Skr. II 39, 24-26)

Thirdly, the challenge Hauge offered to his followers can be understood in terms of a community seeking definition (Wright 2001:368). Changed behaviour became a symbol which acted as a means of making a clear distinction between those who were true believers and those whom Hauge and his followers considered to be nominal Christians. That Hauge considered there to be such a distinction is clearly expressed in *EL-Lexcien*:

'thi Gud ved Forjættelsen tilsagde Diævelen Fiendskab mellem sin eller Qvindens og hans Sæd, i Mose B. 3 C. 15 V. Derfor maae vi aldrig tænke, at Christus og Belial, de Troende og Vantro, kan stemme overeens, 1 Cor. 6 C. 15 V.; thi Striden begyndte i Cains og Abels Tid, og varer til Verdens Ende'

(Skr. II 66, 8 -13)

The change of heart and change of praxis demanded in the Receiver by Hauge's message is embodied in the first of two announcements of salvation found in

GV. The following example forms the opening proclamation of GV-2 'Om de Mennesker der har efterfulgt Guds Villie':

Announcement of Salvation

Promise

*'Jeg vil forløse dem af Helvedes Vold;
Jeg vil gienløse dem fra Døden;
Død! Jeg vil være din Pestilents;
Helvede! Jeg vil være din Ødeleggelse, Fortrydelse skal skiule sig
for mine Øyne,*

Messenger formulas

*saaledes siger Gud hos Hoseas i det 13 Cap. 14 Vers, at han vil
gøre ved alle dem som søger hannem; og hos Ezechiel 36 Capitel
[26 V.] siger Herren:*

Promise

***Jeg vil give eder et nyt Hierte** og Jeg vil give eder en nye (sic) Aand
inden i eder og borttage det Steen Hierte af eders Kiød og give eder
et Kiød-Hierte, og Jeg vil give min Aand inden i eder og gøre det,*

Reason

at I skulde vandre i mine Skikke og holde og gøre mine Rette;

Messenger formula

alt dette er Guds Kierligheds Løfter

Addressee

til alle dem som af ganske Hierte med sin frie Villie søger ham,

Messenger formula

og til dem siger Herren i Mosebog:

Promise

min store Lyst er at boe hos Mennesket paa Jorden,³

Amplification

det er:

Promise

*at Gud haver sin Fornøjelse i dem som søger ham i Aand og
Sandhed efter hans Villie'*

(Skr. I 175, 12 - 29)

³ Ex. 25:8, Lev. 26:11-12

4. A change of status – ‘summons’

GV-5 deals only with the initial sequence of the energising narrative of Hauge’s prophetic speech – its ‘welcome’ and ‘challenge’. The final sequence of this narrative depicts Judgement Day itself (see Chapter 6), but the intervening topical sequence represents the ‘summons’ offered to the Receiver to move from being a beneficiary of Hauge’s prophetic task to sharing in that task. This summons can be represented as shown in Fig. 7.2 below.

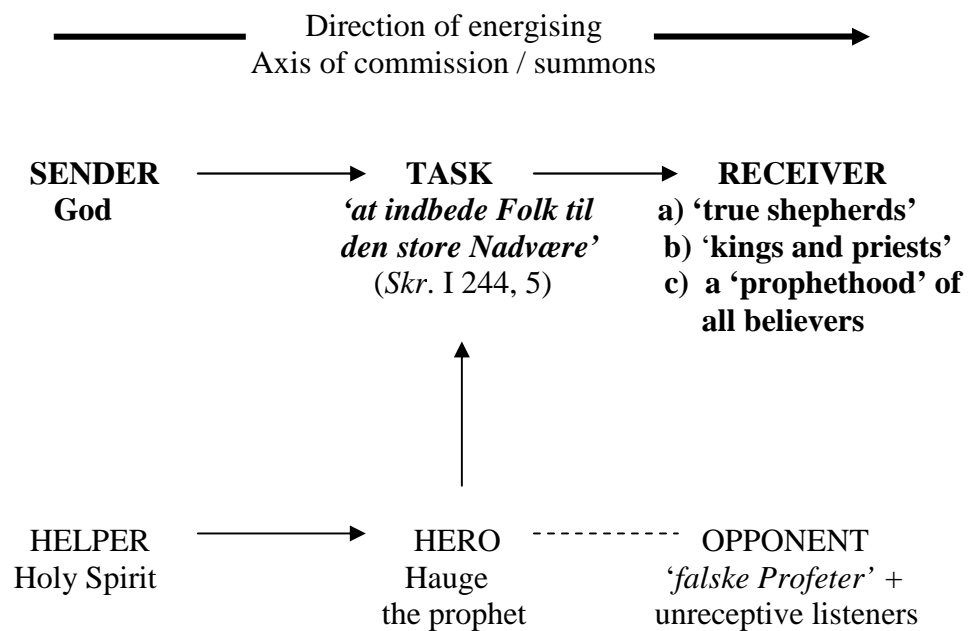


Figure 7.2 The topical sequence of the implicit narrative of Hauge’s energising prophetic speech

The summons in Hauge’s prophetic speech sprang from his aim to advance the gospel with all haste in the time he considered remaining before Judgement Day. In order to achieve this aim he needed co-workers who were not hindered by an unnecessary attachment to material possessions, relationships or to their own lives, and as such, his summons was a natural extension to the challenge he presented to the Receiver. Hauge’s energising prophetic speech expressed the summons in a way which encouraged the Receiver to re-order his or her reality according to three key metaphors: ‘true shepherds’, ‘kings and priests’ and ‘prophethood’.

4.1 'True shepherds'

The controlling narrative of Hauge's prophetic criticism was based on the story of the Good Shepherd (Jn. 10:1-21), the narrative structure of which was presented in Chapter 6, Section 7.1 by using Greimas' actantial analysis, and is shown again below:

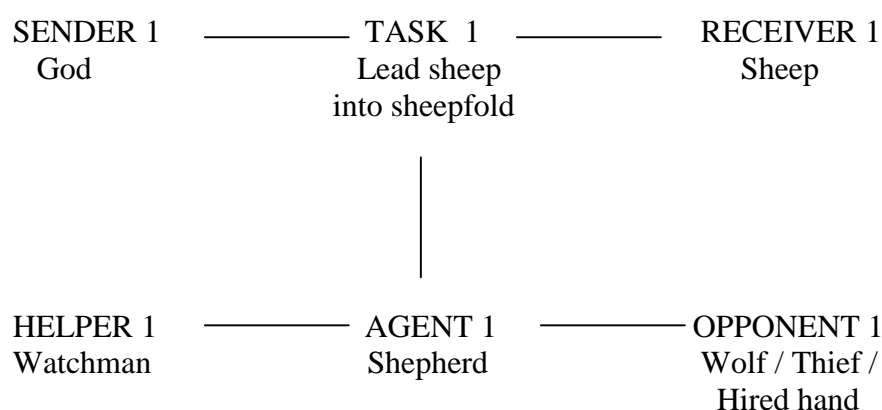


Figure 7.3 The narrative structure of the story of the Good Shepherd

Hauge envisaged the situation in his own context as one in which the Agent of the controlling narrative was missing, i.e. the clergy were not acting in a way Hauge considered appropriate for a 'shepherd' (See Chapter 6, Section 7.1, Figure 6.8):

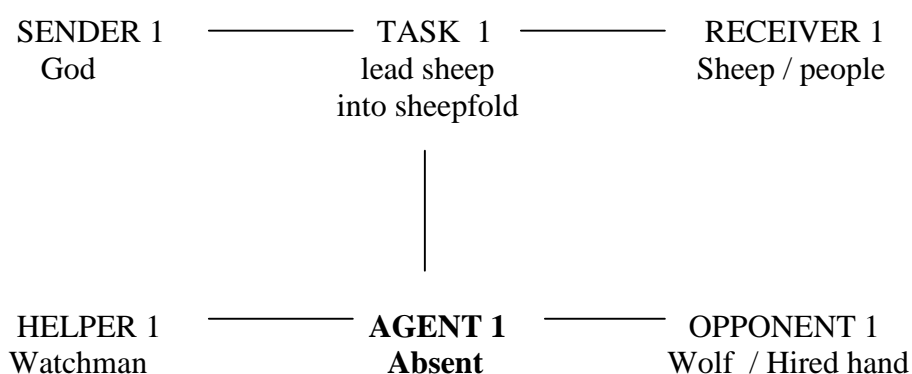


Figure 7.4 The narrative structure of the story of the Good Shepherd as Hauge saw it represented in his context (Agent absent)

Hauge perceived that the gap left by the absence of Agent 1 had been filled by Opponent 1. This resulted in Hauge presenting the actual plot of the situation as a demonic counterfeit of that intended by Sender 1. This counterplot indicates the controlling narrative of Hauge's criticising prophetic speech as shown below (see Chapter 6, Section 7.1, Figure 6.9):

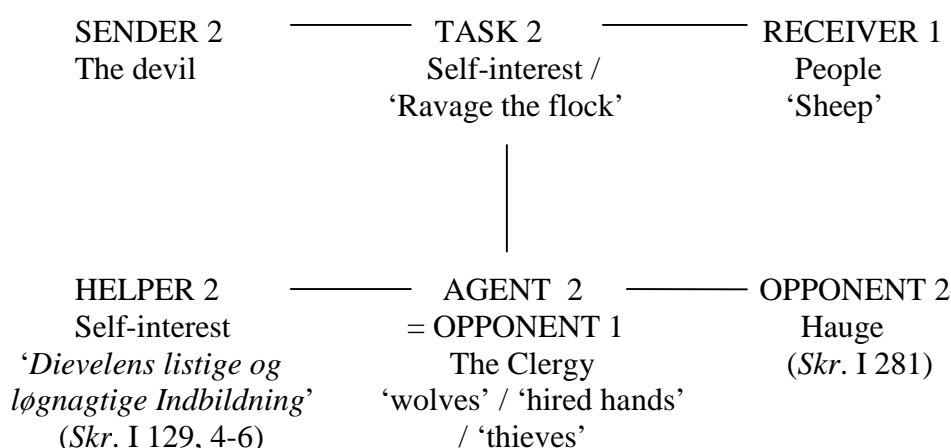


Figure 7.5 The controlling narrative of Hauge's criticising prophetic speech

As with Hauge's criticising prophetic speech, the controlling narrative of his energising speech is a variation on the story of the Good Shepherd. The Sender (God), Task (leading the sheep into the sheepfold) and Opponent (wolf / hired hand) in the narrative structure of Hauge's energising speech remain the same as in the story. However, Hauge's energising speech intends to redress the problem of having the Opponent 1 in the role of Agent 2 in the counter plot. In Hauge's energising speech, the Receiver (1) who responds to his message does not remain as such. First of all, he or she is summoned to take on the role of the 'watchman' from the story of the Good Shepherd and becomes Helper 2, working under the inspiration of Helper 1, the Holy Spirit. The 'watchman' role is seen as one in which the individual gives indirect support to the Agent (1) by praying that the Task is effective (c.f. later in this section).

Stage 1 of the summons to the Receiver

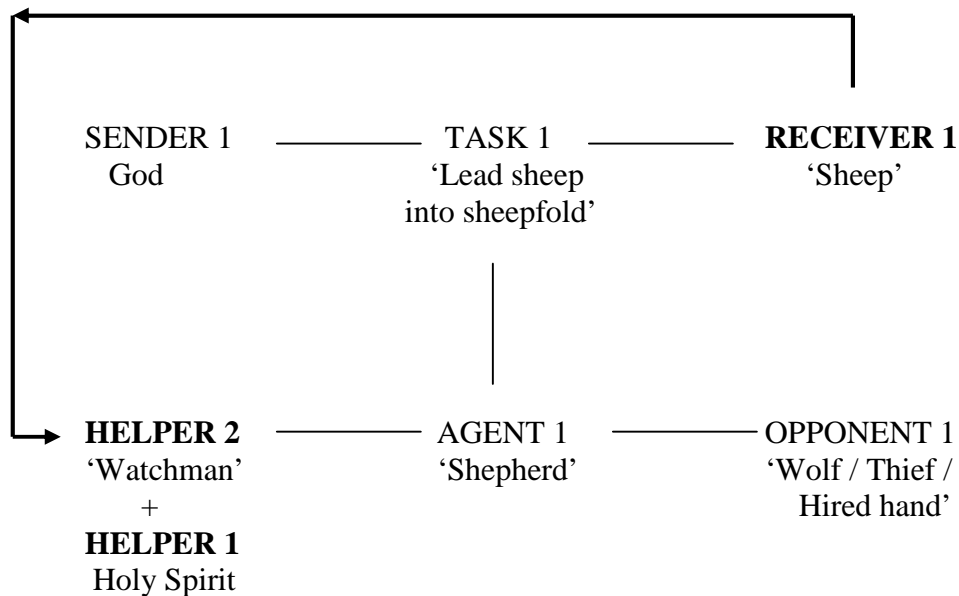


Figure 7.6 The first stage of the summons to be '*rette Hyrder*' in Hauge's energising prophetic speech

The second stage of the summons results in Receiver 1, now Helper 2, moving to become Agent 3 - a shepherd or '*en rett Hyrde*'. The prime concern of Agent 3 is to effect the Task in relation to Receiver 2 - those people whom Hauge consistently described to his followers as '*vor næste*' (*Skr.* I 132, 6) or '*dine Brødre*' (*Skr.* I 87, 7). The original Receiver now has the active Task of bringing their family and friends 'into the sheepfold', rather than the more passive task of praying that some other Agent would achieve the Task on their behalf. This second stage of the summons can be depicted as shown in Figure 7.7 below:

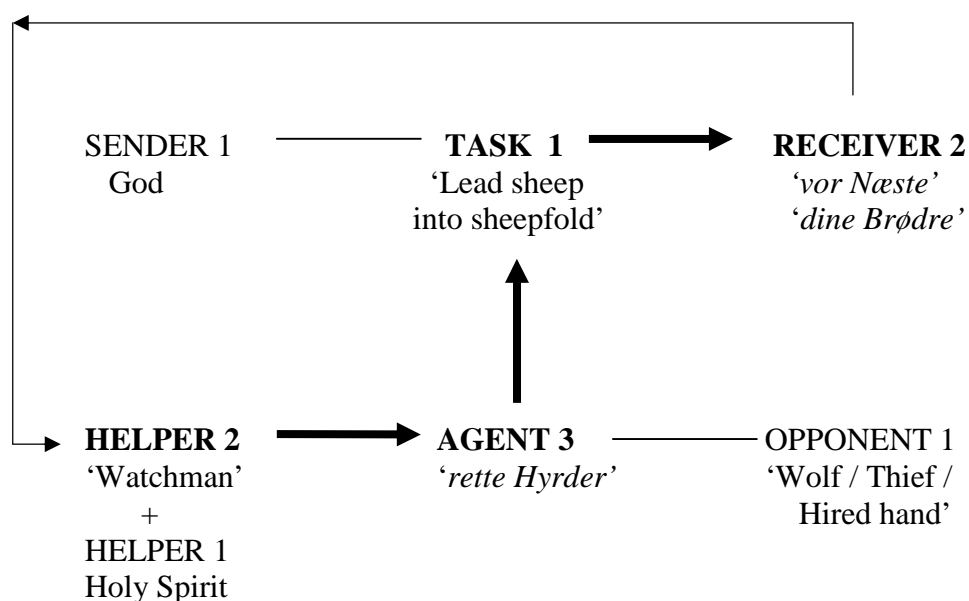


Figure 7.7 The second stage of the summons to be '*rette Hyrder*' in Hauge's energising prophetic speech

Although Hauge presented the story of the Good Shepherd as the controlling narrative of his prophetic speech and its counterplot as the controlling narrative of the criticising aspect of that speech from the time he began writing in 1796, the energising version did not appear until '*Bidrag*' was appended to *BVD* in 1798. In the course of the two years after the first publication of *BVD* Hauge had won a following, and it is to those followers that '*Bidrag*' is addressed. The final paragraph constitutes a climactic summons to those followers to participate in the Task, or to continue to do so if they have already begun (see *Skr.* I 131, 25 – *Skr.* I 132, 23). Initially Hauge reminds the reader of the 'welcome' and the 'challenge' of his prophetic message. He uses the Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard (Matt. 20:1-16) to make it clear that the Receiver who has repented and believes is now God's '*Sendebud eller Tiener*' (Agent 3) and he uses the Parable of the Talents (Lk. 19: 11-27) to challenge Receiver 1 / Agent 3 to use their spiritual and secular gifts for God's glory. Hauge uses one of his favourite commissioning motifs, '*det betroede Pund*', to extend his own commission to his reader. Thus Receiver 1 is poised to receive the summons that follows. The

first parts of the final paragraph of ‘*Bidrag*’ are shown below in order to demonstrate these aspects of Hauge’s rhetorical manoeuvre:

WELCOME (repent and Believe):

‘For om Gud lokker os med søde Følelser, eller tugter med Angest, saa skulde vi ikke allene da elske og paakalde ham, som en Øyen-Tiener ... ; thi som Herren maae bruge disse Følelser, for at faae kaldet eller leyet os i Viingaarden, Math. 20 C. 1 V., for da hans Aand oplyser os, og viser hvad Ondt vi haver fortient, og da vil borttage det Onde, og give os overflødig Godt, da er vi Gud lydige, og lover ham Troeskab, ... ’

CHALLENGE:

‘... og derfor betroer [Gud] os de Pund, Luc. 19 C. 13 V., han seer, vi have Kraft og Forstand til at aagre med; men saa drager han udenlands, eller undrager den følelige Nærværelse. Ligesaa og hans Sendebud eller Tienere, Malach. 2 C. 4 V., dem elsker han, og vil saa have eller være hos dem bestandig; men da Kirken er adspredt over Jorden, men i Himmelen er triumpherende, saa vi skal elske vor Næste som os selv ... ’

(Skr. I 131, 25 - Skr. I 132, 6)

The ‘summons’ then follows. Initially this summons is a call to become Helper 2 and share in the task of the ‘watchman’ (Helper 1) of the controlling narrative. The ‘watchman’ role of Helper 2 is to ‘*bede Gud, at de faa Arbeydere i den store Høst maatte uddrives, Luc. 10 C. 2 v.*’ rather than to respond to a direct summons to be one of ‘*de faa Arbeydere*’ who are physically sent out:

SUMMONS Part 1:

‘saa maae vi heller bede Gud, at de faa Arbeydere i den store Høst maatte uddrives, Luc. 10 C. 2 v.; thi den Tiener er Herren meest behagelig, som gjør efter hans Befalinger, saavel i Fraværelse som Nærværelse.’

(Skr. I 132, 6 - 10)

This part of the summons is followed by a covert signalling by Hauge to Helper 2 through a charismatic reading of Ps. 119:18 that their experience of God's Spirit has given them, as well as him, insight into God's perspective on their historical context. Hauge then uses a charismatic reading of Ez. 9:14, Jer. 14:18 and Jer. 2:8 to reconfirm his opinion that the clergy are the Opponent whose work must be counteracted if the basic aim of his worldview is to be achieved:

COVERT SIGNAL:

'Gud haver beviist os en stor Naade, at han haver givet os sit Ord, og nu aabnet vore Øyne, at vi kiender de Ting i hans Lov [Ps. 119, V. 18], og vore Hierter ere blevne opvarmede af hans Naades Besøg, ...'

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF OPPONENT:

'da vel mange før vor Tid haver sukket og jamret over den store Vederstyggelighed hvilken den finder, som gaaer igiennem Staden, Ezech. 9 C. 4 V., og seer dem er ihjelslagne, og ere syge af Hunger; thi baade Præsten og Propheten løbe omkring og kiendte det ikke, Jerem. 14 C. 18 V.: De sagde ikke: Hvor er Herren? [de] omgikkes med Loven, og kiendte mig ikke, 2 C. 8 V.'

(Skr. I 132, 10 - 19)

Hauge's delegitimation of the clergy acts as a foil to emphasise the magnitude and necessity of the second part of the summons which then follows. Here Helper 2 is exhorted to make the final leap in the re-imagination of their personal role in history and to step into the vacant space in the controlling narrative of Hauge's prophetic speech. This act of re-imagining places the ordinary individual who has responded to Hauge's message in to the role of Agent 3 - *'en rette Christi Hyrde'* who acts under the authority of Jesus *'Over-Hyrden'*:

SUMMONS Part 2:

'Lad os derfor være de rette Christi Hyrder, som føde hans Faar med Kundskab og Forstand, [Jer.] 3 C. 15 V., og see nøye paa Over-Hyrden Jesus [Heb. 13C., 20 V.], at hans Kierlighed kan drage os paa Sandheds Vey til Salighed! Amen.'

(Skr. I 132, 19 - 23)

Hauge's conferral of the term '*de rette Hyrder*' on his followers has considerable connotations; implying that Hauge considered himself and his followers to have a form of legal authority conferred on them directly from God which superseded the authority of the official clergy. Interestingly, Hauge's appropriation of this authority only extended to the task of preaching; at no time did he encourage his followers to take the administration of the sacraments into their own hands but to continue to receive these from the hands of the state-ordained clergy.

Hauge's emphasis on the role of the shepherd as being one of preaching of the gospel is made clear in *SB-Nogle Giendrivelseser* (1798). Here he describes the clergy as '*blinde Vægtere*' and '*de unyttige Hyrder*'. Hauge's use of these two phrases is equivalent to his negation of the clergy's claim to be either 'the watchman' (Helper 1) or 'the Shepherd' (Agent 1) in the controlling narrative of his prophetic speech. This negation of the summons of the clergy acts to amplify the effect of Hauge's exhortation to his reader: '*I først omvende Eder selv, og siden styrke Brødrene, Luc. 22 Cap. 32 V.*' - a biblical quotation which Hauge used in *BVD-Fortale* to justify his own call to preach at the outset of his presumed task (*Skr. I* 78, 3 -14):

*'For den Herren sender sit Ord til, der skal det ikke komme tomt tilbage, Es. 55 Cap. 11 V. Men her prædikes Aaret ud og ind, dog tager det Onde meer og mere til; derfor ere **de unyttige Hyrder**, Ezechiel 34 Cap., **blinde Vægtere**, stumme Hunde, der ikke kunde gøe; de ere Hyrder, som ikke kiende Forstand, de vender hver til sin Vey, Es. 56 Cap. 10, 11 V.; derfor skulde **I først omvende Eder selv, og siden styrke Brødrene, Luc. 22 Cap. 32 V.**'*

(*Skr. II* 52, 2-8)

Hauge's formulation of the theme of '*de rette Hyrder*' finds its fullest expression in his sermon on the gospel reading for '*Tredie Pintsedag*' (*Skr. III* 384-388) which forms part of *Den Christelige Lære*, a substantial collection of sermons on the lectionary readings for the year which Hauge compiled during his three month imprisonment in Trondheim at the beginning of 1800. Not having been written in such haste as his early texts, this sermon expounds Jn. 10:1-10 along the lines described above, but with more clarity. The transition of the Receiver

from being Helper 2 to being Agent 2 – ‘en rett / tro Hyrde’ - is expressed as shown below:

*‘den som gaaer ind ad Døren [til Faarestien] eller efter Ordet og følger Jesu Exempel, den er Faarenes Hyrde, og for ham lader Dørvogteren op, og Faarene hører hans Røst. Dørvogteren er den Helligand, han aabner Ørene for de rigtige Hierter, **naar en Christi Efterfølger eller tro Hyrde taler Guds Ord**; derimod naar en Falskner som med sine forgiftige falske Ord ... Guds Aand holder deres Øren og Hierte til, at de ikke skal høre eller fatte det falske, men som sagt aabner, at de kiender den rette oprigtige og tro Hyrdes [dvs Jesu] Røst ...’*

(Skr. IIIa 385, 33 – Skr. IIIa 386, 8)

This sermon also expands on the image of the ‘Faarestien’ (sheepfold), describing it as:

‘Guds Børn i deres Samfund hvor de med forenede Bønner, Læsen, Sang og Tale, opvækker, opmuntrer, lærer og styrker hverandre’

(Skr. IIIa 387, 23-25)

This ‘Samfund’ is a ‘virtual space’, i.e. not an official institutional meeting place, where Agent 2 is resourced to carry out the Task:

‘naar de [troe Hyrdene] gaaer ind til de Troende og faa Føde, saa gaaer [de] ... ud igien iblandt de Vantro og forkynnder Livets Ord, er fyldt med Troens Frugter og kraftige Kierlighed, saa de opvækker og samler flere Faar, eller oprigtige Siele til Jesu Samfund’

(Skr. IIIa 387, 28- 32)

Much effort has been expended in the literature to emphasise the view that the intention behind Hauge’s prophetic task was to renew the institutional church rather than to establish an alternative community (Aarflot 1969:420). The institutional church can be understood as both an ‘*usynlig trossamfunn*’ and a ‘*synlig og offentlig samfunn i verden*’ (1969:384); Hauge’s idiosyncratic ecclesiology has thus been explained as the result of Pietistic influence which

tended to focus on ‘*de troendes samfunn som en sammenslutning av de sanne kristne, som utgjorde den egentlige usynlige kirke*’ (p.390).⁴ Although the passage of time has shown that renewal of the institutional church in Norway was indeed one result of Hauge’s influence, the widely diverging worldviews with which Hauge and the institutional church operated imply that, had Hauge not been imprisoned in 1804 and had the new generation of clergy post-1814 not had ‘*Religionens hellige Ild optændet i deres Hierter*’ (Skr. VIII 224:6), Haugianism might have followed in the footsteps of Moravianism or Methodism in forming a separate ecclesiastical community.⁵ Conjecture aside, there is no doubt that the shepherd narrative in the energising aspects of Hauge’s prophetic speech empowered the listener to take on a role and a task which would not have been conferred upon them by officialdom – i.e. preaching the gospel.

4.2 ‘Kings and priests’

The second metaphor used in the summons in Hauge’s energising prophetic speech is that of ‘kings and priests’. In the same way that Hauge used the apocalyptic imagery of the ‘grasshoppers from the abyss’ to heighten the controlling narrative of his criticising prophetic speech, the image of ‘kings and priests’ performs the same function in his energising prophetic speech. Hauge’s point of departure is his interpretation of ‘the kings from the East’ who appear after the outpouring of the sixth bowl of wrath (Rev. 16:12). Hauge introduces this idea in *GV-7, Forklaring over nogle Profesier*, where the kings from the East are equated with the army of ‘enlightened believers’ who will undertake ‘*den sidste Udbredelse*’ in ‘*Evangelii sidste Tiid*’ (Skr. I 96, 20-21):

‘*de Konger som kommer af Solens Opgang, det er Guds Aands oplyste Mænd ...*’

(Skr. I 231, 8- 9)

⁴ See also *Forklaring* (1854), Question 521, and Aarflot 1969:415ff.

⁵ This appears to be the implication in Hauge’s sermon on the epistle for ‘*Anden Søndag i Advent*’ (*Den Christelige Lære*, 1800) where Hauge describes the example of Jesus, who ‘*tog de gamle Gudstieneste i Agt*’ and ‘*opfyldte den Orden, der holdtes, indtil ham fik dem overtalet, til at troe det klarere, saa blev det første avskaffet*’ (Skr. III 16, 22-27). This implies that Hauge initially had a more revisionist program in mind than has generally been conceded.

Hauge equated these ‘kings from the east’ who appear after the outpouring of the sixth bowl of wrath (Rev. 16:12) with ‘the armies of heaven’ who accompanied ‘the rider on the white horse’ who preceded the seventh and last dispensation (Rev. 19:14)⁶ (see Chapter 5, Section 4.2.2e). He also equated ‘the rider on the white horse’ with ‘the angel with the little scroll’ who appeared after the breaking of the sixth seal (Rev. 10:1-6) (see Chapter 5, Section 4.2.2c). This angel had a ‘face like the sun’, which was equivalent in Hauge’s mind to the phrase ‘*Solens Opgang*’.⁷ Hauge again equated ‘the kings from the east’ and the armies accompanying ‘the rider on the white horse’ with those described as being able to ‘take part in the first resurrection’ (Rev. 20:6). Thus Hauge was able to claim that the prophesied army of ‘*sande Tienere*’ who would preach the gospel would be ‘kings and priests of God and Christ and will reign with him (God) for a thousand years’ (Rev. 20:6)⁸. This comes clearly to expression in *SB- Lexcien* (1798):

‘den siette Engel udøste sin Skaal paa den store Flod Euphrates, og Vandet deraf borttørres for de Konger, som kommer fra Solens Opgang, og i Aab. 5 C 9, 10 V. Du er slagtet og har kjøbt os til Gud med dit Blod af hver Stamme og Tungemaal, og du haver gjort os til Konger og Præster for Gud, at vi skal regnere (sic) over Jorden. Dette er: at naar Jesus Christus haver med gudommelig Kraft frigiørt os fra Syndens Magt og Herredømme, saa er vi salved med Christi Salvelse af Guds Kierlighed, der er Olien i vore Lamper; og dette er Skaalen, som udøses paa det store Syndens Hav, at Guds Kierligheds Ild borttørre det Onde, saa hans sande Stridere overvinder ved Lammets Blod og deres Vidnesbyrds Ord; thi de elske ikke deres Liv indtil Døden, Aab. 12 C. 11 V.; saa ere vi da gjorde til Konger og Præster, som have Guds Aand, til at regiere over de jordisksindede Mennesker. Skulde vi da ikke praedike hans Ord og bekiende hans Villie endog for den hoeragtige og syndige Slægt? Marc. 8 C. 38 v.’⁹ Det er og Lutheri Vidnesbyrd, naar han siger:

⁶ This rider has a sharp sword coming out of his mouth, a symbol which Hauge equated with the preaching of the gospel.

⁷ Hauge understood the phrase ‘*Solens Opgang*’ in the light of Malachi 4:2 (NIV), ‘But for you who revere my name the sun of righteousness will arise with healing in his wings ...’, an apocalyptic prophecy which Hauge used in both the allegorical and prophetic senses in his writings (e.g. *Skr.* III 18, 19).

⁸ ‘*salig og hellig ere de, som have Deel i den første Opstandelse, over disse har den anden Død eller evige Pine ingen Magt, thi de skal være Guds og Christi Præster, og skal regiere med ham i tusinde Aar, [Aab.] 20 C. 6 v.*’ (*Skr.* II 81, 11-14). Hauge goes on to equate these ‘*Hellige*’ with ‘*Jesu Faar*’ (*Skr.* II 81, 15).

⁹ ‘*den hoeragtige og syndige Slægt*’ alludes to ‘the Woman on the Beast’ and her adulteries (Rev 17-18) which are described before the appearance of ‘the rider on the white horse’ and ‘the armies of heaven’ (Rev. 19:11-16).

“Skulle vi ikke bekiende Jesum i dette Liv, naar han vil bekiende os i det andet Liv for sin Fader, thi nest en Synders Benaadelse i Jesu Blod, er ingen ypperligere Gierning, end offentligent at bekiende Jesu thi Dievelen antaster os ikke saa haart, fordi vi har den sande Troe, og lever hemmelig gudelig hos os selv, men naar vi udbreder det til andre, at det skal komme dem til gode, da bliver han ret[t] vred.” ’

(Skr. II 43, 18 – Skr. II 44, 7)

Having established an apocalyptic understanding for his designation of his followers as *‘Konger og Præster, som have Guds Aand’*, Hauge then refers in *SB-Opmuntring* to 1 Pet. 2:5 to denote them as ‘a spiritual house’ as well as ‘a holy priesthood’:

‘Dersom I haver smagt at Herren er from, saa opbygger Eder selv et aandeligt Huus, et helligt Præstedømme, til at ofre Herren aandelige og velbehagelige Ofre ved Jesum Christum, 1 Pet. 2 C.’

(Skr. II 52, 18 - 21)

Although Hauge is now quoting from 1 Pet. 2, it is verse 9, not verse 5 as quoted by Hauge, which is the usual starting point for the theological argumentation for the notion of ‘the priesthood of all believers’ (*‘det almenne prestedømme’*).¹⁰ Luther understood the priesthood of all believers to be mainly concerned with a Christian person undertaking acts of kindness and generosity to their neighbour, and being faithful in their ‘general’ earthly call, i.e. their station in life or employment (Gerrish 1965). Preaching the gospel was part of the task assigned to those set aside for ministry – i.e. the clergy. That Hauge quotes 1 Pet. 2 verse 5, rather than verse 9 as a starting point for his summons to his followers, indicates that he was summoning them to something other than the general understanding of the priesthood of all believers as it is often seen pertaining to the laity. Doing good works and being faithful to one’s earthly calling belonged to the *challenge* of Hauge’s message, not the summons. Responding to the summons involved his listeners making a leap of imagination that took them

¹⁰ ‘But you are a chosen people, a royal priesthood, a chosen nation, a people belonging to God, that you may actually declare the praises of him who called you out of darkness into his wonderful light’ 1 Pet. 2:9 (NIV)

beyond putting themselves in the role of a priest ordained by earthly authority; Hauge was summoning them to be priests ordained directly by divine authority due to the apocalyptic urgency of the situation.

‘As you come to him, the Living Stone – rejected by men but chosen by God and precious to him – **you also like living stones, are being built into a spiritual house to be a holy priesthood**, offering spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ’

(1 Pet. 2:5, NIV)

The key to understanding Hauge’s reference to 1 Peter 2:5 at all is the idea of the ‘holy priesthood’ of the ‘*sande Christne*’ being ‘*et aandeligt Huus*’ (a spiritual house). In Hauge’s thought universe, the idea of the ‘*aandeligt Huus*’ (1 Pet. 2:5) related to ‘the glory of the present house’ (‘*det siste Huses Herlighed*’) referred to in Hagg. 2:9. Although Haggai is not an overtly apocalyptic text, it has often been interpreted in that way because Hag. 2:7 prophesies that ‘the desired of all nations will come’ – a statement usually interpreted as referring to the Second Coming of Christ. As Hauge considered that this event was relatively imminent, it was logical for him to consider that he and his followers were part of ‘*det siste Huses Herlighed*’, whereas the institutional church and its nominal members were part of ‘the former (worldly) house’ (‘*det første [Hus]*’). Hauge brings together his ideas regarding the ‘the last days’, his followers being ‘kings and priests’ of an apocalyptic type, and ‘*det siste Huses Herlighed*’ in a sermon on the lectionary reading for Pentecost (Acts 2:1-11) in ‘*Den Christelige Lære*’ (1800). In this sermon he further accentuates the prophetic significance of the time in history in which he is living by claiming that the words of Is. 11:11 were actually taking place contemporaneously as a result of people responding to the message proclaimed by him and the other ‘*Konger og Præster*’:

‘I de siste Dager, siger Gud vil jeg udgyde min Aand over alt Kiød, og eders Sønner og Døttre skulde prophetere. Ach! Hvor glædeligt er det ikke, at vi lever paa denne Tid, da han besøger, oplyser og salver os til sine Konger og Præster at regiere over Jorden. Aab. 5 Cap. 10 V. ... Ti de siste Dage er jo endnu, ja nærmere end i Peters Tid, som da andvente dem [= Joels Ord 3 C. 1 V.]; hvorfor vi kan fornye dem paa os, ja tro at det siste Huses Herlighed skal blive(r) større end det første, Hagei 2 Cap. 9 V. (sic). Da Herren vil den

anden Gang lægge Haand paa at samle sig det overblevne av Folket, Esaias 11 Cap.'

(Skr. IIIa 361, 20 – Skr. IIIa 362, 3)

As mentioned in Chapter 5, the effect of accepting such apocalyptically based rhetoric is that, in their own minds, the Receiver is released from any obligation to worldly authority if that authority lays any boundaries or restrictions in the path of the advancement of the perceived divine mandate. Although Hauge encouraged his followers to live within the law and norms of the time if possible, apocalyptic 'disregard' for worldly authority is seen in Hauge's occasional quotation of 1 Cor. 2:15 in relation to his 'spiritual brothers' and their 'divine task':

'de, mine aandelige Brødre! der dømmer alle Ting, og dømmes af ingen, 1 Corinth. 2 C. 15 v., de seer, at det er fornødent at arbeyde paa den Mad, som varer til et evigt Liv, Joh. 6 C. 27 V., og at Høsten er stor, Arbeyderne ere faa; beed, at Høstens Herre vil uddrive Arbeydere i sin Høst! Math. 9 C. 37 V.'

(Skr. II 57, 20 -25, see also Skr. I 235, 13-14 and Skr. II 36, 28-30)

Hauge's expression of this energising theme of being an army of 'kings and priests' in a time considered to be prior to the End finds its pinnacle in the announcement of salvation found in *GV-Tillæg* (1798):

Announcement of salvation

Reason

'Vil en nu ikke lide Evig Siele-Skade, saa maae Troen rense Hiertet og da bekiende Jesu Navn,

Promise 1

hvilke Gud vil endnu en Gang bevæge Himmelen, Jorden, Havet, og det Tørre, og alle Hedningernes Længsel skal komme med Lyst [Hagg. 2C., 6V.],

Promise 2

saa det sidste Huuses Herlighed skal blive større end det første, Hos. 2 C.,¹¹

Promise 3

og Gud vil indgyde af sin Aand over alt Kiød, at Sønner og Døttre skal prophetere, Joel 3 C. 1 V.

Promise 4

optændes et Lys i Norden, Esaias 41 C. 25 V.

Promise 5

og et stort Folk skal opvækkes fra Jordens Sider, Jerem. 6 C.

Promise 6

Jeg vil,

Messenger device

siger Herren,

Promise 6 contd.

stænke reent Vand paa Eder og I skal vorde rene, saa de gamle Stæder skal bygges, Ezech. 36 C.

Promise 7

og jeg vil give min Lov i Eders Sind og indskrive den i Eders Hierter, jeg vil være Eders Gud og I skulle være mit Folk, I skulle ikke lære hver sin Næste og Broder, sigende: Kiende Herren; thi de skal alle kiende mig fra den Lille til den Store, Ebr. 8 C. og være lærde af Gud, Joh. 6 C. 45 V.,

Reason

thi de er alle Børn fødte af en Faders Sæd, og Grene paa et Træ, haver en Art indvortes og udvortes, som Grenen; thi om det end er Forskiel paa deres Størrelse eller Gavernes Betroelse, saa ere de dog hverandre underdanig i Guds frygt og kan alle prophetere og alle formane(r) den eene efter den anden, 1 Cor. 14 C. 31 V., thi de er alle som een, fordi de lærer en Vej.'

(Skr. I 242, 10-31)

Besides the apocalyptic perspective introduced by the previously mentioned references to Hag. 2:6 and Hag. 2:9, Hauge quotes other OT prophets in relation to his own context: '*jeg opvækker [et folk] af norden, og det skal komme, [ja]*

¹¹ Actually Hagg. 2:9a

fra solens opgang skal [et folk] paakalde i mit navn’ (Is. 41:25, Chr. VII), and *‘Saa sagde HERREN: See, der skal kommer et folk af et land af norden; og et stort folk skal opvækkes fra jordens sider.’* (Jer. 6:22, Chr. VII).

The first prophecy (Is. 41:25) is drawn into Hauge’s energising announcement as it mentions the term *‘Solens Opgang’* which is also found in Rev. 16:12. Knowing what we do about Hauge’s charismatic hermeneutic, it is not implausible to maintain that he probably considered the people whom God *‘opvækker ... af norden’* to refer to his followers. Hauge also draws in Jer. 6:22 because the verse has the connotation of the raising of a large ‘army’, which relates to Hauge’s reading of Rev. 16:12 and Rev. 19:14. Jer. 6:22 also uses the phrase *‘et land af norden’*, which Hauge relates to his prior quotation of Is. 41:25. The implication of the whole is that Hauge was announcing that God was establishing an ‘End Time army’ in Norway whose work was to proclaim the gospel. It is interesting that the implication in quoting Jer. 6:22 is that Hauge was encouraging his followers to see the Task as extending across the whole world. Although Haugians were initially sceptical of organised missionary endeavours (Wiig 2004), it happened that the majority of western missionaries who travelled abroad in the nineteenth century came from Norway (*‘See, der skal kommer et folk af et land af norden’*) and Norwegian missionaries played a key role in the massive revival which occurred in China in the early twentieth century (*‘et stort folk skal opvækkes fra jordens sider’*) – notably Marie Monsen, who came from a Haugian background (Golf 2000).

The announcement of salvation shown above indicates the event which Hauge considered key to the establishment of an army of preachers and the final dissemination of the gospel: the promise that *‘Gud vil indgyde af sin Aand over alt Kiød, at Sønner og Døttre skal prophetere, Joel 3 C. 1 V.’* (Skr. I 242, 15-17).

We have already seen from his sermon on the lectionary reading for Pentecost that Hauge quoted Joel’s words because a) he believed he was living in the last days - *‘de siste Dage er jo endnu’*, and b) that the spiritual insight he believed he had received allowed him to use a charismatic hermeneutic to apply the words directly to his own context, viz.: *‘hvorfør vi kan fornye dem paa os’*. This

experience of the Spirit (*'besøk'*) acted not only to inspire (*'oplyse'*) the individual so that they could understand the gospel, but to anoint them (*'salve'*) to preach it. Thus the Receiver's experience of the Spirit became a form of commissioning for the Task in hand:

'I de siste Dager, sige Gud vil jeg udgyde min Aand over alt Kiød, og eders Sønner og Døttre skulde prophetere. Ach! Hvor glædeligt er det ikke, at vi lever paa denne Tid, da han besøger, oplyser og salver os til sine Konger og Præster at regiere over Jorden. Aab. 5 Cap. 10V. ... Ti de siste Dage er jo endnu, ja nærmere end i Peters Tid, som da andvente dem [= Joels Ord 3 C. 1 V.]; hvorfor vi kan fornye dem paa os, ja tro at det siste Huses Herlighed skal blive(r) større end det første, Hagei 2 Cap. 9V. Da Herren vil den anden Gang lægge Haand paa at samle sig det overblevne av Folket, Esaias 11 Cap.'

(Skr. IIIa 361, 20 – Skr. IIIa 362, 3)

According to Hauge's understanding of Joel's words, the intention and result of the Spirit's *'besøk'*, *'oplysning'* and *'salvelse'* was that *'Sønner og Døttre skal prophetere'*, i.e. take an active role in spreading the gospel – not only in the context of daily living, where Hauge considered it to be the responsibility of the Christian believer to pray for and encourage *'sine Brødre'* or *'sine Næste'*, but also further a field than the local neighbourhood. This consideration formed the basis for the third key metaphor Hauge uses in the summons of his energising prophetic speech: the prophethood of all believers.

4.3 The prophethood of all believers

If the 'challenge' of Hauge's energising prophetic speech emphasised the active expression of the notion of the priesthood of all believers in the sense of individuals using their material possessions, practical talents and spiritual gifts for the benefit of others as a means to *'Guds Villies Bekiendelse'*, then the 'summons' of his message took this notion a step further by the instigation of what can be called 'a prophethood of all believers' (Stronstad 1999). In his early texts, Hauge first expressed his desire to see the establishment of such a company of prophets in *SB-Lexcién*, in the same context that he described *'Jesu*

sande Efterfølgere’ as ‘kings and priests’ who come from ‘*Solens Opgang*’. This clearly places the role of the prophet in an apocalyptic setting:

‘Men saa kommer en anden Engel fra Solens Opgang, hvilken er den Herre Jesus, der er Verdens aandelige Soel eller Lys, Joh. 8 Cap. I fra ham opkommer hans sande Efterfølgere, som havde de levende Guds Segl, det er: Christi levende Ord, der er et skarpt Sværd, Ebr. 4 C. 12. V., som hugger igiennem alle Kiød-Hierter, hvor Satans Forheerdelse ikke for stærkt hersker; disse som fører et helligt Levnet og ere fuldkomne ... til at elske deres Fiender med Guds Kierlighed, at føre dem fra det Onde, ... thi Jacob siger i det 3 C. 1 V.: Vorder ikke mange Lærere, at vi ikke skal faae des større Dom, (som ere de falske Læredømme, der ere saa mange af;) thi han siger i det 5 Cap.: at den som haver omvendt een Synder fra sin Veys Vildfarelse, han har frelst en Siel fra Døden; og da maatte vi ønske med Moses, at alle Herrens Folk vare Propheter, 4 Mosebogs 11 C. 29 V., som Christus og alle Apostlerne’

(Skr. II 42, 29 - Skr. II 43, 10)

Hauge expands these thoughts in *EL-Tillæg*, in a section in which he moves from the ‘challenge’ of his message and the idea of ‘the priesthood of all believers’ - in which the believer is called ‘*at hielpe og staae vor Næste bie i al Livs Fare, ... især [at] sigte til hans udødelige Siel*’, to the ‘summons’ of his message and the notion of ‘a prophethood of all believers’ - in which the believer is called to ‘*bekiende Jesum, endog for den hoeragtige og syndige Slægt, Marc. 8 C*’. This summons in *EL-Tillæg* is followed by Hauge again expressing his desire ‘that all of the Lord’s people were prophets’ (Num. 11:29a). His quotation of this verse stops short of Moses’ wish that ‘the Lord would put his Spirit on them [= all the Lord’s people]’ (Num. 11:29b), but he goes on to redress this omission by quoting Joel’s prophecy that the Lord will pour out his Spirit on all flesh in the End Times.¹² The individuals in Hauge’s army of prophets can thus be seen to demonstrate the two key characteristics of prophets: a) the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and b) the proclamation of God’s message. An abbreviated extract from the passage from *EL-Tillæg* is shown below:

¹² Joel 2:28b (NIV), but Joel 3:1 (NBS).

Challenge (priesthood of all believers)

'... lad os arbeyde, om vi formaaer, baade Nat og Dag, 2 Thess. 2 C. 9 V., saa om vi og kunde have at meddeele de Nødtorftige; men hertil skal vi ikke vorde menneskelige Trælle under Synden, i Gierrighed til os selv, eller føde andres umættelige Begiærlighed; thi at hielpe og staae vor Næste bie i al Livs Fare, maa især sigte til hans udødelige Siel, hvilket jeg i min tredie Bøg, under Tittel: En Sandkeds Bekiendelse om Saligheds Sag, som og i de andre, driver paa, at ...

Summons (prophethood of all believers)

... vi skal bekiende Jesum, endog for den hoeragtige og syndige Slægt, Marc. 8 C., ja jeg ønsker med Mose, at alle Herrens Folk vare Propheter, 4 Mose B. 11 C. 29 V.; ... Det var jo glædeligt, [at] om vi oplevede den Tid, Guds Naade-Løfter hos Propheten Joel bleve opfyldte:

Inspiration

Det skal skee i de sidste Dage, siger Gud, vil jeg udgyde min Aand over alt Kiød,

Proclamation

og Eders Sønner og Døttre skal prophetere,

Appropriation

... hvilke Ord vel Apostelen Peder igientog, da Aandens Gaver faldt paa dem den Tid, Ap. G. 2 C; men disse Dage er jo endnu,

Commission

... og derfor [skal vi] ikke foragte nogen [som Gud har kaldet til at prophetere]; thi Gud anseer ikke Personer, men den, som gjør Ret og Retfærdighed, [Ap. G.] 10 C. [34 V.] '

(Skr. II 74, 2-12 and Skr. II 74, 19-24)

The above excerpt comes from Hauge's discussion of the meaning of Christian calling ('Pauli Meening ... om Kaldet') as presented in 1 Cor. 7:17-24. This NT passage, especially 'saasom Gud haver uddeelt til hver, som HERren haver kaldet enhver, saaledes vandre han' (v.17, Chr.VII), was the foundational ideology behind the social immobility that existed in the Dano-Norwegian autocracy. Hauge puts an interesting spin on his interpretation of this passage, implying that the call described in v.17 was not the social situation into which the individual was born, as was the normal contemporary understanding of the passage, *but the new situation into which God had called them*. In others words Hauge was exhorting his followers not to relinquish the alternative reality into

which they had entered, as that reality pertained to their true calling or '*Guds Bud*' (v.18, *Chr.VII*) for their life. Obedience to the call and command of God, rather than obedience to the traditional norms of society, was a key issue for Hauge - even if this call was one to travel and preach, as he considered his was:

'... deres forrige Ceremonier, da er dem intet; men at bevare Guds Bud, elsker vi Gud, da holder vi hans Ord høyt og i Ære, gjerne hører og lærer af vor Næste; saa efterfulgte de Jesu og Pauli Disciple.'

(Skr. II 73, 19-22)

Hauge was aware of the objections being raised that not everyone was free to be a travelling 'prophet' due to their secular domestic responsibilities. Hauge's rejoinder was that if the individual could free themselves of such responsibilities, then they should do so for the sake of the gospel, because 'he who was a slave when he was called is the Lord's freeman':

*'Nu forvender de vel, at ikke alle kan reyse saaledes; thi da maatte Huus og Gods, ja alle legemlige, endog nødvendige Ting gaae i Grunde, som dog Gud haver ordineret i Verden. Heri kan vi see Grund i de tre efterfølgende Vers: Er du kaldet en Tiener, da bekymre dig ikke, men kan du blive frie, da brug det heller; thi **Tieneren er Herrens Friegjorte med sin Siel; for Gud haver budet os, at være Øvrigheden lydig naar de ikke befaler imod hans Bud; skeer det, saa maae vi meere adlyde Gud end Menneskene**, som Peder svarede, da de forbod ham at aabenbare Guds Villie, Ap. G. 5 C; ellers skal vi være troe i Tieneste, og i vort Ansigtets Sved æde vort Brød'*

(Skr. II 73, 22 -33)

Despite his prophetic call to emancipation, Hauge acknowledged that '*at udgaae i Verden*' was a special call, but he did not limit this call to the few, rather he complained that there were '*alt for faa .., som er salvet af Christi Aand til Prædike-Embede*', i.e. there is the implication that there could and should be more Spirit anointed individuals prepared to make material sacrifice to fulfil the End Time task despite the resistance they would meet from the authorities:

*‘Vi bør være hverandre underdanig i Guds frygt [Phil 2C., 3V.], ... som en daglig Omgang best kan erfare ... hvilket er alle Christnes Pligt. Det at **udgaae i Verden, bliver da Guds særdeles Kald, som vi kan see af ...** Math. 8 C. 20 til 22 V. Heri kan vi see, at der er ... **alt for faa, der haver draget Bielken af sit eget Øye, som er salvet af Christi Aand til Prædike-Embedet, med hans Sind at være tjenestlydig til den forsmædeligste Død, naar det var Faderens Villie, Phil. 2 C. [5 V.]’***

(Skr. II 74, 24 - Skr. II 75, 6)

Hauge's desire to see more prophets released into the world is expressed in his '*Bøn for den christne Kirke*' which was written in Hokksund '*arresthus*' in October 1804 as he awaited transfer to Kristiania for what became a ten year detention while he awaited trial:

*‘Opvæk envær af sin Lonkenhed, løs de Fangne i Synen og tilskyn **dinne frigiorte Børen** (sic) at iage efter Kierlighed med alle Gaver, at søge [det] som nøtigit er til din Kierkes [= det sande Guds Barns Samfundets] Opbygelse, **mest at profeterre og kome ud i den vide Verden at kundgiørre dit Navn**’¹³*

(Skr. V 2, 10 – 14)

The above reading of Hauge's discussion of Christian calling as a summons to prophethood is in total contradiction to how it has usually been understood. He may indeed have misunderstood the meaning of Paul's words as intended by the author in their original NT context, but his need to give biblical legitimation to his 'call experience' and his desire to be obedient to that calling, resulted in him reading 1 Cor. 7:17-24 within an idiosyncratic frame of reference influenced by his worldview. The hermeneutical move from personal spiritual experience to finding legitimation for that experience in the text of the Bible is characteristic of a charismatic approach to the Bible and common to Hauge.

¹³ The grammar and spellings in this quote are Hauge's own.

Hauge's fullest charismatic exposition of an OT text relating to his understanding of the prophethood of all believers is found in his sermon on the lectionary reading for the Feast of John the Baptist (Is. 49:1-6) (*Skr.* IIIb 425 – 428).

'Listen to me, you islands; hear this, you distant nations: Before I was born the Lord called me; from my birth he made mention of my name. He made my mouth like a sharpened sword, in the shadow of his hand he hid me; he made me into a polished arrow and hid me in his quiver. He said to me, "You are my servant, Israel, in whom I will display my splendour." But I said, "I have laboured to no purpose; I have spent my strength in vain and for nothing ..." And now the Lord says – he who formed me in the womb to be his servant to bring Jacob back to him and gather Israel for himself ...he says: "It is too small a thing for you to be my servant to restore the tribes of Jacob and bring back those of Israel I have kept. I will also make you a light for the Gentiles, that you may bring my salvation to the ends of the earth'.

(Is. 49:1-6, NIV)

Hauge begins his commentary on this passage by saying that *'Denne Lectie kunde vel som flere udlægges paa Christus og Johannes den Døbere, men da Christus har fuldkommet det eller det er fuldkommet paa dem, saa maae det og fuldkommes paa os, thi Grenen havet Art af Træet, og Tieneren af Herren'* (*Skr.* III 425, 4-7), i.e. Hauge understood these verses from Isaiah as directly pertaining to and being fulfilled by himself and his followers. This is made clear by his quotation of Jer. 1:5 - *'jeg beskikkede dig til en Prophete for Folket'* (*Skr.* III 245, 17), and his statement that *'hvor Herrens Aand haver kaldet og beredt et Hierte til at modtage hans Kierligheds Kraft, [og det] er bleven retfærdig og herliggjort, da er en udvalgt, og der bliver Ordene skarpe i hans Mund, og er som et tveegget Sverd ...'* (*Skr.* III 425, 31 – *Skr.* III 426, 1). The latter reflects the two characteristics of a prophet and prophecy: inspiration – *'Herrens Aand haver kaldet og beredt et Hierte...'*, and proclamation - *'da er en udvalgt, og der bliver Ordene skarpe i hans Mund...'* (See also *Skr.* III 246, 5-8). Hauge then specifies the Receiver of the prophetic message brought by himself and his followers: *'Jacob'* - *'de Troende, som af Fienden ere nedslagene'*, *'Israel'* - *'dem ... som er forildet i denne Verdens syndige Ørk'*, and *'Hedningerne'* – *'de i Synden formørkede, som ikke have følt eller kiendt den Guds Kraft'* (*Skr.* III

427, 15 – 24). Although Hauge allegorises the Receiver, he does make a literal reading of Is. 49:6b, stating that '*vor Evangelii Prædiken bliver af troe Herrens Tienere uddeelt i Verden, der skal den ikke forgaae, men trænge igiennem til Verdens Ender*' (Skr. III 427, 26-28), implying that he considered that his and his follower's area of influence would not, or should not, ultimately be limited to Norway. He immediately places this statement in an apocalyptic context by adding the exhortation: '*lad os da saaldes ret opofre os til hans Tieneste, anamme hans Evangelii Bud, at det kunde bliver evigt, Aab. 14 Cap. 6 V.* ', in which the reference to Rev. 14:6¹⁴ reminds the reader that the lectionary text must be read in the light of the understanding that '*den siste Udbredelse skeer*' (Skr. I 96, 21).

Hauge's distinctive interpretation of this passage from Isaiah and other biblical texts indicates both the urgency and revolutionary nature of the energising thread of his prophetic message. Taken together with the summons to be '*rette Hyrder*' and '*Konger og Præster*', the summons to be 'real prophets' - as opposed to the '*falske Profeter*' - can be seen to be a powerfully energising force in the imagination of the Receiver.

5. A clash of symbols

This chapter has examined the energising thread of Hauge's prophetic imagination which, like his prophetic criticism, arises from the controlling narrative of his prophetic speech: the story of the Good Shepherd. The initial sequence of the narrative structure of Hauge's energising prophetic speech offers the Receiver an 'invitation'. This invitation consists of a two stage process to 'repent' and 'believe', and generates the symbol of '*et sønderrevet eller sønderknuset Hierte*' (Skr. I 201, 10) which was a foundational part of Haugian ideology. The individual with such a heart was able to partake in the symbolic religious rituals of the institutional church in an 'authentic' manner, thus the symbolic nature of these rituals was transformed in the Haugian worldview. The initial sequence of Hauge's energising speech also issued the challenge of

¹⁴ 'Then I saw another angel flying in mid-air, and he had the eternal gospel to proclaim to those who live on the earth – to every nation, tribe, language and people' Rev. 14:6 (NIV).

alternative praxis outside the immediate arena of symbolic religious ritual. The *praxis pietas* generated by the challenge of Hauge's prophetic energising was another key foundational symbol of the Haugian worldview and was often expressed metaphorically by the term '*Omvendelsens Frugter*'.

In contrast to contemporary praxis, the challenge Hauge issued concerning *alternative* praxis involved the transformed individual holding lightly to material possessions, personal relationships, and even their own life in order that they might use their earthly goods, natural abilities and spiritual 'talents' for the material and spiritual benefit of not only their '*Brødre*', but also their unconverted '*Næste*'. This unique interpretation of the concept of 'the priesthood of all believers' was a consequence of the heightened sense of urgency generated by Hauge's apocalyptic worldview; his opinion that the End was imminent, justified the belief that extreme measures regarding the mobilisation of resources were warranted - even if this caused dissention and strife with those who were not of the same mind (*Skr.* I 106, *Skr.* I 202). This aspect of the new reality within which Hauge's followers lived is particularly highlighted by the '*arvesaker*' which resulted from several of his followers bequeathing land and money to Hauge '*for at desse skulle koma rørsle til gode og tena det religiøse vekningsarbeid*' (Mannsaker 1961:398).¹⁵ In such instances the key symbols of the dominant worldview with its '*faste og eldgamle førestillinger om arv og odel*' (Mannsaker 1961:398) caused a perceptible clash with the symbols of the Haugian worldview.

Besides the challenge to an alternative praxis, a further consequence of the Receiver accepting the invitation and challenge of the energising thread of Hauge's prophetic speech was their reception into membership of an alternative community of like-minded believers. Such was the symbolic value of the '*Vennesamfunn*' in the minds of Hauge's followers that it not only weakened their allegiance to the institutional church (despite their obedient attendance at

¹⁵ Details of two cases can be found in the letters from the clergymen in Berg (Østfold) and Elverum submitted to the Danish Chancellery during the investigation of Hauge in 1804 (Letters nos. 109 and 261 in *Hauges sak I-III*, Riksarkivet, Justisdepartementet, Oslo. See Bang 1910:254, Lindbeck 1999:6-9, Mannsaker 1961:397).

morning services), but also weakened their loyalty to unconverted family members. This frame-shift was not only evidenced in the bequeathing of material possessions outside the natural family, but also in the challenge it presented to the tradition of obedience to parental authority. Offspring converted by Hauge's teaching are recorded as having left home to become travelling preachers, to live and work at one of the Haugian economic centres, or to enter an 'arranged marriage' with another believer – frequently against the wishes of the parents concerned (Mannsåker 1961:397). Loyalty to the '*Vennesamfunn*' also put strain on existing marriages: in his 1804 letter to the Chancellery, the clergyman from Rakkestad reported that one farmer had told him that Hauge had used '*Kunst og veltalenhed for at fra lokke fra ham Kone og Barn, (og) den hele Velfærd*' (letter 191, quoted by Mannsåker 1961:388). Another source of tension was the willingness with which some individuals, on Hauge's advice, sold family land in order to donate to the movement, or to settle in a completely different part of the country as part of Hauge's strategy for the establishment of a national network of religious centres (Lindbeck 1999:66, Magnus 1978:82, Mannsåker 1991:395).

The opposition which arose among the *bondestand* in response to the altered praxis of those who joined the Haugian movement is most easily understood as a clash of the key symbols fundamental two widely different worldviews. Whereas the generation of a new key symbol such as 'the contrite heart' would, on its own, probably not cause individuals to act outside the boundaries of acceptable social norms, the consequent transformation of traditional social and cultural symbols such as family loyalty and '*odelsrett*' were bound to produce irresolvable conflict between the parties involved (Wright 2004:390).

The picture of the alternative reality within which Hauge and his followers lived is not complete without including the final aspect of the energising strand of his prophetic imagination. The 'summons' to be '*troe Hyrder*', '*Konger og Præster*' and '*et aandeligt Huus*' of '*Profeter*' provided Hauge's followers with key metaphors by which they understood their individual and corporate reality and purpose. These key metaphors stemmed from an aspect of praxis which had pertinent symbolic value in Hauge's apocalyptic worldview, that of 'mission' -

or the spreading of the gospel – before the imminent arrival of Judgement Day (Wright 2004:367). The key metaphors offered by Hauge’s energising prophetic speech filled the symbol gap created by the attack on the clergy made by his prophetic criticism, and gave his followers the confidence to step into a role that was normally closed to them. The resolve with which Hauge’s followers adhered to their new key symbols of identity and behaviour is best explained by an appreciation of how fully they must have assumed for themselves the urgency of Hauge’s apocalyptic worldview in which an extreme situation demanded extreme measures and, if understood as part of a divine mandate, all secular authority – whether that of family or State – was nullified.

Table 7.1 below (see next page) lists the dominant worldview symbols which Hauge’s prophetic speech dismantled, and relates these to the symbols of the Haugian worldview which Hauge’s energising speech transformed or generated to fill the symbol gap created by his prophetic criticism. When viewing this table, it must be appreciated that the direct substitution of one dominant worldview symbol by one alternative worldview symbol would be a simplification; the complex interaction between the symbols in each worldview is such that some symbols of the alternative worldview fill the symbol gap left by the dismantling of several of the dominant worldview symbols. The key symbol which appears most repeatedly in the alternative worldview is ‘mission’. The high incidence of this alternative worldview symbol indicates the degree to which Haugian ideology was pervaded by an urgent necessity to preach the gospel. This urgency was such that it formed the main motivating factor behind the alternative attitude to the stewardship of material and human resources held by Hauge’s followers. Seen from this point of view, the Haugian fellowships which were scattered across the length and breadth of Norway at the turn of the eighteenth century can be considered to be a valid and important example of what is now fashionably termed ‘mission-shaped church’ (The Archbishop’s Council 2004).

Dominant worldview symbols dismantled by Hauge's prophetic criticising

Alternative worldview symbols transformed or generated by Hauge's prophetic energising

Personnel

King / State officials

God (transformed symbol)

Priest

Lay preacher,
both male and female (transformed symbol)

Parents

Hauge / local Haugian leaders
(transformed symbol)

Mission (generated symbol)

Family

Haugian conventicles (transformed symbol)

Practices

Official religious rituals

The contrite heart (generated symbol)

'Redeemed' participation in official religious rituals (transformed symbol)

Stewardship of material resources

Mission (generated symbol)

Stewardship of natural talents

Mission (generated symbol)

Place

Church

Haugian conventicles (transformed symbol)

Ancestral land (*odelrett*)

Mission (generated symbol)

Table 7.1 The relationship between the dominant worldview symbols dismantled by Hauge's prophetic criticism and the alternative worldview symbols generated by his prophetic energising

Looking at the set of key symbols of the dominant worldview in Norway under Danish autocracy and comparing them with the key symbols of the Haugian worldview, we can see that Hauge operated as a prophet in Brueggemann's sense. His prophetic imagination spoke into being a new reality, the key symbols of which had the main effect of transforming 'a religion of God's accessibility' into 'a religion of God's freedom' (Brueggemann 2001:31). Such was the interconnection between religion, politics and economics in the Dano-Norwegian autocracy, that Haugian attitudes to personal relationships and material possessions also had the inevitable consequence of transforming 'a politics of oppression' into what can be considered as 'a politics of justice' and 'an economics of affluence' into 'an economics of equality' in the minds of those who accepted his worldview (Brueggemann 2001:30). In the light of his role as a prophet, it is essential to understand that Hauge's actions and words did not grow from an intention to propagate a system of religion or ethics, and certainly not from an 'opposition' to Lutheranism conceived as a 'religious system', but from a conviction that the climax of history was dawning, bringing with it great danger and great opportunity. The danger lay in Denmark-Norway's obsession with her political existence and in the cultural and religious symbols which defined and reinforced that existence at all levels of society. The opportunity lay, and perhaps still does, in the potential transforming power of Hauge's prophetic announcement:

'Jeg vidner da frit for alle, at han staaer med sit Sverd og vil slaae til med sin langmodige Retfærdighed. Jeg beder da enhver at de vil nedfalde i Ydmyghed for Gud og omvende sig af ganske Hierte og bekiende sine Synder med Smerter og aflade dem, saa er Gud meget rund til at forlade for sin kiere Son Jesu Christi Skyld og formindske Straffen baade timelig og evig. Amen.'

(Skr. I 86, 19-25)

Conclusion:

Hans Nielsen Hauge and the Prophetic Imagination

In *Hans Nielsen Hauge and the Prophetic Imagination* I have sought to answer the question as to what it was about Hauge's message in particular that changed people's lives. Previous studies have tended to concentrate on the sociological, political and economic causes and consequences of the Haugean movement, although Gundersen has made a close study of aspects of Hauge's early rhetoric from a classical point of view. Gundersen's work draws attention to some fascinating aspects of Hauge's early rhetoric, but in my opinion he does not provide a comprehensive explanation as to how Hauge's message, as demonstrated in his first four texts, actually produced change in the receiver. The fault lies mainly in approaching Hauge's texts with analytical tools which have been developed by a thought system totally alien to his own worldview. To understand how Hauge's texts cause change in the receiver, a model must be used that is compatible with Hauge's own worldview.

Hauge lived in a reality populated with images, stories and codes of conduct drawn from the Bible and from his reading of Pietistic devotional literature. It thus seemed appropriate to use Walter Brueggemann's paradigm 'prophetic imagination' as an analytical tool with which to commence an examination of Hauge's early texts. This paradigm looks at biblical prophecy as a form of rhetoric which 'speaks new futures into being', or one which moves the receiver's perception of reality from what Brueggemann calls the 'dominant consciousness' propagated by a human regime to that of the 'alternative consciousness' desired by the divinity on whose behalf the prophet spoke.

The literature has paid scant attention to Hauge's role as a 'prophet' in the substantial changes that occurred in Norway at the turn of the eighteenth century. Only on one occasion has he been described as a prophet in terms of a predictor of the future; the favoured understanding of Hauge as prophet is as a preacher of the gospel. His prophetic role has also been understood as that of a charismatic

leader in the Weberian sense, and as an apocalyptic visionary representative of a tradition in Norwegian folk culture which stretches back in history to the composition of *Draumkvædet*. All these views are of value, but they do not consider Hauge and his message as an agent of change, but usually only as a means of protest by a section of society which had no legitimate means of complaint and no other language than the religious in which to express that complaint. Prophetic imagination as a paradigm is such that it embraces the foundational ideas behind all the previous perceptions of Hauge as prophet, but moves the debate forward in that it looks for the locus of change in the language he used and in the way he used it within his own particular universe of thought.

Prophetic imagination not only looks at prophecy as a form of rhetoric which moves the receiver from one perception of reality to another, but considers that prophecy does this by means of two specific functions described as ‘prophetic criticism’ and ‘prophetic energising’. Prophetic criticising dismantles the worldview of the dominant consciousness in the mind of the receiver by delegitimising the key symbols that underlie that consciousness. In Hauge’s case these symbols were the ‘personnel’, ‘practices’ and ‘place’ of what Brueggemann would term the ‘managed religion’ of the Dano-Norwegian state. Prophetic energising speaks into being the new reality, or worldview, of the alternative consciousness and transforms, reactivates or generates fresh key symbols to replace the dismantled symbols of the dominant consciousness in the mind of the receiver. A close examination of Hauge’s early texts showed that the symbols of the alternative consciousness he promulgated were ‘a new and contrite heart’, ‘good fruit’, an alternative understanding of family, and an alternative place and practice of worship led by alternative personnel. Most significant of all, the key metaphors activated by Hauge’s energising speech can be understood as the root cause of an increased level of self-awareness and self-confidence in the receiver. Rather than a self-understanding based on metaphors which fostered submission to the hegemonic consciousness, Hauge’s followers – both male and female – experienced a form of inner emancipation which led to outer action as a result of understanding themselves as ‘true priests’ having royal (divine) authority, as ‘true shepherds’, and as members of ‘a prophethood of all believers’.

The idea that Hauge and his followers believed that they were part of a prophethood of all believers relates Hauge's actions, and those of his followers, to the traditional Lutheran preference to define a prophet as a preacher of the gospel. In effect, the preaching of the gospel to as many people as possible in as short a time as possible was the prime directive of the Haugian movement. The urgency of this task arose from Hauge's basic belief that he was living in the years leading up to the return of Christ and to Judgement Day. This basic belief arose from Hauge's idiosyncratic interpretation of the symbolism in Revelation (the Apocalypse of St John) - an interpretation which he believed had been revealed to him by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

Norborg (1966) touched briefly on Hauge's understanding of the book of Revelation, but my close reading of *Forklaring over nogle Profesier (Guds Viisdom*, Chapter 7, 1796) indicates that a finer appreciation of Hauge's insight into the use of the number seven in the biblical text is essential if the intensity and urgency of the apocalyptic reality which he inhabited is to be truly understood. In Hauge's mind the letters to the seven churches, the breaking of the seven seals, the blowing of the seven trumpets, and the pouring of the seven bowls of wrath were all different representations of the same seven periods of history, or 'dispensations of God's grace', between the birth of Christ and his return. This understanding led him to believe that the period of history in which he was living coincided with the end of the fifth dispensation and the beginning of the sixth in which the final dissemination of the gospel predicted in various Scriptures would be fulfilled. This transition from the fifth to the sixth dispensation of history is the '*Forandring*' or 'change' which Hauge predicted in various parts of *Verdens Daarlighed* (1796). Unlike other commentators, I believe it is insufficient to say that this '*Forandring*' was merely Hauge's desire to see change on the religious, social and perhaps on the economic and political level - his conviction and yearning ran much deeper. For Hauge the coming '*Forandring*' was a time in which God himself would intervene in human history to instigate a series of events in which his faithful servants would play a key role by means of their own personal experience of the empowering of the Holy Spirit in order to bring about the culmination of human history.

If we look at Hauge and his message from the standpoint of the apocalyptic worldview from which he operated we begin to appreciate the radical nature of his message and his actions. This is a Hauge who offends the rational mind and who breaks the boundaries of our modern sensibilities – and as such we see why he and his followers could not be fathomed by the clergy of his time. Their project invested in the rational enlightenment of the individual as a means to improve society by human effort alone. Hauge's project originated from premises which the clergy understood as an extrapolation and proliferation of the superstitious belief which resided in the mind of every unenlightened peasant (Brekkan 1999). A clash of worldviews was inevitable, as were the increasingly strenuous measures taken on the part of officialdom to stop the growth and spread of the Haugian movement.

Although the outcome of applying Brueggemann's paradigm to Hauge's early texts was a surprising and unanticipated result of my research, it can be said that this has been a valuable project not only in terms of what it has brought to light regarding the inner working of Hauge's mind and in identifying the locus of change in his message, but also in that it has provided an opportunity to test Brueggemann's paradigm in a theoretical context beyond the confines of the biblical text itself. When applied to prophecy of the type found in Hauge's writings - which were produced in a culture which does not have the same richness of narrative symbolism as Judaism - Brueggemann's paradigm broke down at the point of identifying 'symbols activated from the culture's historical past'. This deficiency was rectified by integrating Brueggemann's paradigm with Wright's work on prophecy as a means of transforming an individual's worldview by 'transforming or generating' symbols (Wright 2001, 2004). Conversely, Brueggemann's paradigm supplemented Wright's worldview hypothesis by enabling the identification of which symbols were dismantled or transformed by Hauge's prophetic speech in order to make way for the new range of symbols which were generated to constitute the basis of his alternative reality. Used in conjunction, Brueggemann and Wright's ideas provide a powerful tool for the analysis of the underlying workings of prophecy and the way in which it acts to 'speak new futures into being'. It remains to be seen if

these combined paradigms can be applied to more recent Christian prophecy in which the prophet tends to speak in their own person using biblical allusions rather than by appropriating and amplifying actual quotations from the Bible.

All in all, my examination of Hauge's early texts as prophecy has achieved what it set out to do and provided a comprehensive means of understanding the rhetorical strategies at work in his early texts and an explanation as to how these texts caused change in the receiver. My work has also allowed us to see a side of Hauge that has hitherto been pushed aside or under communicated. Whether we like it or not, what is important is to embrace the 'otherness' we experience when a Hauge who has been gradually domesticated over the last two centuries is torn from a contextual understanding in which he presents no immediate threat and is returned to a habitat where he is permitted to reassume the radical and untamed side of his nature with which we are unfamiliar.

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